

KINGLY SPLENDOR

Court Art and Materiality in Han China

Allison R. Miller



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COURT ART AND MATERIALITY IN HAN CHINA

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To Gary, Mirella, and Portia

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The royal tombs of the Western Han first sparked my interest in 2003 when, as a recent college graduate and Fulbright scholar, I visited several sites while on a research trip to study Eastern Han pictorial carvings in Xuzhou, Jiangsu province. The Western Han sites seized my attention not only because of their elaborate size, architectural complexity, and rich furnishings, but also because they were connected with known historical figures and therefore enabled me to study an aspect of Han funerary art often omitted from scholarly narratives—namely, the political dimensions of these sites. Later on, at Harvard, my doctoral dissertation would focus on these very aspects, considering the social and political factors that contributed to the development of rock-cut tombs in the Han. This book significantly expands the scope of my original dissertation with new research on Baling and the rock-cut tombs, on the relationship between the kings and the imperial court, as well as on terracotta warriors, jade suits, murals, and purple textiles. It represents the culmination of years of study across three distinct fields: art history, archaeology, and history.

Because this project took several years to complete, I owe a debt of gratitude to many individuals who assisted me along the way. First, I would like to thank my teachers, Professors Donald Harper and Wu Hung of the University of Chicago, who originally cultivated my interests in Han history and art, and the members of my dissertation committee at Harvard: Professors Michael Puett, Eugene Wang, Rowan Flad, and Stephen Owen. Michael

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Introduction

This book looks at a moment, a roughly sixty-year period (202–141 BCE), during the Western Han dynasty (202 BCE–9 CE) when, through a major realignment of imperial power, a new panoply of dynastically related and imperially ordained representatives flourished in their local centers outside of the capital and the emperor’s palaces. This period was the commencement of what would eventually be a roughly four-hundred-year dynasty. During this foundational period, many new genres of art and architecture appeared, related in particular to the funerary expressions of a rising elite group: the royals (kings, queens, and associated others), whose purviews were local—that is, outside of, but in touch with, the imperial capital. For modern art historians, this time represents a critical transition in early Chinese art, particularly in funerary art. Dazzling suits of jade, cavernous rock-cut mountain tombs, fancifully ornate wall paintings, and armies of miniature terracotta warriors came to the fore and would have a formative influence on later Chinese art.

The graves of this elite group featured human-built cave palaces hollowed out of mountains, chamber tombs with walls of stone, as well as graves with walls framed from stacked piles of expensive cypress wood. These were only some of the new architectural tomb styles that appeared, replacing the earthen pit graves of the past. As tomb architecture increasingly resembled the architecture of the living world, elites also found new ways to decorate

their tombs. They hung curtains, attached silk wallpaper, painted murals, and then filled the space of the tomb not only with traditional sacrificial vessels, luxury goods, and ornaments but also with new types of representational sculpture, such as terracotta figurines and architectural models. They increasingly lavished expense on coverings for the body of the deceased such as finely crafted suits of jade, manufactured from tiny plaques perforated and sewn together with metallic thread. They also created elaborate jade pillows, jade coffins, and in one case—that of the Mancheng 滿城 tombs—a freestanding stone burial chamber within their tombs.¹

Such developments are only a handful of the numerous transitions that occurred, many of which have been discussed at length in other studies, mostly with a focus on religion or symbolic function. This study assumes a different approach, aiming to provide a broader context by investigating the historical, material, and political conditions under which critical shifts in the visual and material culture of the early Western Han took place. Toward this end, the book centers on five important findings from recent archaeology: (1) rock-cut tombs, (2) miniature terracotta armies, (3) jade suits, (4) wall murals, and (5) purple textiles. Each is treated as a “case study”—a specific transition that is explicated by looking at a multiplicity of factors that formed the broader context.

These five cases were selected for study as a group because each one possesses links to specific changes in governance and dynastic history, as well as changes in materials and responses to certain political needs. Taken together, they represent a major turning point in the early imperial art of China. This brings us back to consideration of the rising elite group of royals, because the genres that flourished all related to objects interred or manufactured for the graves of kings or queens who lived during the reign of Han emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE) and were buried during the reign of Han emperor Jing 景帝 (r. 157–141 BCE) and, as such, reflect certain conditions common to that class of elites in that narrow window of time. As we analyze the broader contexts of the new materials, designs, techniques, and forms, we will be able to reconstruct with at least moderate precision just how the conditions led to what I claim was a major turning point in royal funerary practice. Such conditions can be enumerated as follows: the new disposition of kingly descendants of the realm; their competition and communication with the imperial court; new technologies and materials; and the local artisanal traditions, culture, and techniques with which these

royals dealt. As we will discover, artistic production in the early empire, including of course the early Western Han, did not proceed in a simple, top-down manner as is often assumed, with the capital region as the “generator” of core styles of art and architecture and the provinces as “imitators” of those styles. While the imperial capital indeed produced its own styles, they were not reproduced mechanically in local places, some of which had their own long artistic traditions. This book will highlight the central role that the kings played in stimulating major transitions in both imperial styles and local, indigenous ones.

COURT ART AS A SUBJECT

Before moving into a discussion of the methodology used in this study, I want to say a few words about the general significance of the subject. To those within the field of Chinese art, the works addressed by this book are familiar—they are some of the most important pieces of the period. They have recently been displayed in major museum exhibitions across the United States and Europe, where they have attracted wide audiences.² Yet, even to an audience of specialists, the question of how art commissioned by the aristocracy supported their own authority would seem, on its surface, to be a rather dull starting point for a book. After all, most European art produced before the nineteenth century was commissioned for kingly and ducal courts. A similar situation can be observed in the Middle East, South Asia, and Japan prior to the seventeenth century. Nothing could be more common than court art in premodern societies around the world. Such art is always presumed to have been created to support such patrons’ social status and political authority.

What distinguishes this book from other treatments of court art is that it focuses on a group of ruling elites whose circumstances did not resemble those of elites in contemporaneous societies in other parts of the world. China was unique in world history in that the authority of aristocrats in the monarchical system was questioned earlier than in other civilizations. Early in the Western Zhou (1045–771 BCE), the notion of the Mandate of Heaven was already current.³ Legitimate kings possessed the mandate; deposed kings had lost it. Mencius (fourth century BCE) argued that when a king was no longer virtuous, he ceased to be a ruler and could be removed from power.⁴ Heaven would raise up a new king to replace him, and the new king would

achieve his power on the basis of merit rather than birth.⁵ Mencius was not the only one: other thinkers of the Warring States period (480–221 BCE) also agreed that despotic rulers could be deposed.⁶

Along with a new emphasis on a limited notion of sovereignty was an increasing tendency for elites, beginning in the Spring and Autumn period (770–481 BCE), to justify their positions as based on their abilities rather than on their pedigree.⁷ Another contributing factor, as Pines has shown, was the rise of the *shi* 士 class of intellectuals during the Warring States. These “sub-elites” were employed for their skills rather than their nobility. As this class rose in power, so did the meritocratic ideal of social mobility which they espoused.⁸

Under the subsequent Qin, the state that would eventually unite all of China, a meritocratic government was broadly institutionalized. Advised by the political thinker Shang Yang 商鞅, the Qin established a system whereby most male members of the population, whether aristocrat or commoner, were linked together in a single ladder of rank. Although commoners could not rise above rank eight (on a scale of twenty), this represented a major advancement in social mobility since individuals moved up the ladder based on uniform criteria. During this period of widespread warfare, for the lowest ranks, one degree of rank was awarded per enemy head severed. Officers, likewise, were ranked based on the number of heads taken by their subordinates. Wealthy individuals could also purchase ranks.⁹

In part due to their administrative structure, the Qin successfully unified a vast territory of land that had previously been separate states, ending centuries of warfare. Following this, they established a vast centralized bureaucracy. The entire empire was run in a standardized fashion by bureaucrats hired for their talents and abilities rather than their birth. In his public proclamations, the Qin emperor also presented himself as an embodiment of this meritocratic system. Although he had received his position by pedigree, he nonetheless attributed his successes to his own initiatives, radically de-emphasizing the contributions of his ancestors.¹⁰

Although the Qin dynasty (221–207 BCE) fell in only fifteen years, the Qin emperor’s rhetoric, which presented his achievements as the result of his own actions, had a pronounced effect on the subsequent Han dynasty. The revolts that occurred at the end of the Qin because of the emperor’s harsh, autocratic rule were led by peasants who were convinced that, with the right military strategy, they too could become emperor. Xiang Yu 項羽, the chief

rival of Han founder Liu Bang 劉邦, for example, reportedly remarked to his uncle when he saw the First Emperor, “This man could be captured and replaced” (彼可取而代也).¹¹ Indeed, the result of the wars was the accession of a commoner to the throne for the first time in Chinese history. Liu Bang, son of a peasant, became the founding emperor of the Han dynasty.

The pronounced emphasis on meritocratic rule from the Qin onward had specific implications for the art commissioned by the aristocrats of the period. Although many of them received their positions by birth, they did not rely on pomp and circumstance in the manner of old kings and dukes. Instead, they labored to prove that their legitimacy was grounded in their accomplishments. Aristocratic art in the early Han, in other words, acted in a social and political context that was unlike other places around the globe.¹² Elites were not only concerned with their peers’ reception of works that they commissioned but were also deeply concerned with such works’ impact on the larger population.

Many differences between early Chinese art and the art of other civilizations can be explained only by understanding the full political context in which Chinese art was created. For example, it has been generally noted in the past that Chinese emperors avoided representations of themselves. They did not place their images on coins nor did they commission bronze statues of themselves to be shown in public places, as was common in other ancient societies.¹³ In articulating the specific ways that Chinese art connected with political expression, this study provides a basis by which China’s artistic tradition can be meaningfully compared and understood in reference to other art traditions from around the world.

MATERIALS-BASED METHODOLOGY

To address the relationship between art and political expression in the early Western Han, this study focuses on five case studies; each case represents a significant genre or artistic technique that experienced pronounced development during the early Western Han period.¹⁴ The study addresses each of these case studies using a materials-based approach: paying attention to materials and the processes by which works were manufactured as well as objects’ contexts of display. The goal is not to replace traditional art historical methodologies but rather to work toward a more holistic approach that pays attention to each work’s physical presence, substance, scale, the process by which it was made, and other factors.¹⁵

The focus on materials builds on a general trend in art history that began in 1972 with the publication of Michael Baxandall's *Painting and Experience*, and subsequently *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (1980), and has accelerated more recently starting around 2000 with the "material turn" throughout the humanities and sciences.¹⁶ My attention to materials also builds on important ground paved by prior scholars of early Chinese art and history such as Robert Bagley's studies of Shang bronzes, Lothar Ledderose's study of modular workshop organization and its effect on Chinese sculpture, and Anthony Barbieri-Low's work on the status and organization of early imperial artisans, to name a few.¹⁷ Michael Cole has argued that studies that center on material represent a "feminist history of art" because materials, having been gendered female since the time of Aristotle, are traditionally considered less important than form.¹⁸ This means that when we pay attention to materials, we bring into focus important issues that have not been satisfactorily addressed by researchers of art history in the past.

My study consciously continues this trend. I have arranged chapters based on genre and material rather than on archaeological site, chronology of styles, or historical changes. It should be noted that this in and of itself does not necessarily draw attention to art media. As Wu Hung has pointed out, when works were grouped together by medium in early-twentieth-century museums, the purpose was to focus on form: the medium and its physical and social context were taken for granted.¹⁹

For our purposes, a materials-based approach will be followed in several ways. First, the study considers how materials lent meaning to works through a range of factors: their economic value, the method by which they were manufactured, and the specific cultural meanings attached to them. In the context of early China, as described above, elite patrons, although still drawn to rare and beautiful substances, preferred materials and objects that helped them project specific political ideals. Accordingly, they viewed with caution materials that might be read as pure ostentation. For example, chapter 4 explains how the affordances or material properties of jade—its hardness, rarity, and unique veining—contributed to the material's deep cultural history and prevented it from being viewed as a mere luxury item.²⁰ Although jade was costly and rare, its association with morality and, among some groups, with immortality contributed to its popularity among ruling elites in early imperial China. In this context, jade suits became important

coverings for the deceased in elite burials of the Liu (imperial) house because such suits indexed not only the kings' wealth, trade relations, and local workshops but also the imperial family's claim that its members were benevolent and fit to rule. The anthropomorphic suit—by transforming the bodies of Liu-family rulers—implied, without having to directly state, that the nature of such men and women differed from that of the common population. Such a claim was crucial in a period when the population generally recognized that the only difference between the ruler and the ruled was one of position, and ruling elites struggled to convince the population of their legitimacy.

Elites' complicated relationship with luxury materials is also addressed in chapter 6, which explores the history of purple textiles in the state of Qi 齊. Purple-dyed textiles were, from the time of their discovery, a local luxury product of Qi, likely because of the difficult process by which they were produced. This chapter details the history of the purple textile industry in Shandong, the reasons that Qi likely maintained a monopoly over it, and how the industry's success contributed to purple's rise to the top of the color pantheon in the Qin and the Han. Overall, this chapter documents the important impact that local industries had in early imperial China as well as the reasons such industries remained local even after the empire experienced strong shifts toward centralization.

A second way this study engages the topic of materiality is through its exploration of the transmission of artistic knowledge. Building on prior studies, this account highlights the degree to which artisanal knowledge is skill-based, tacit knowledge that, unlike explicit knowledge, is rooted in experience. In the words of Jennifer Roberts, artisanal knowledge resides "somewhere in the kinetic interface between mind, body, tools, and materials."²¹ Artisans were trained through practice—not through instruction manuals or purely verbal instruction. This has particular relevance for the way we study the movement of artistic techniques and knowledge from one place to another. When we recognize that artisanal knowledge is partially stored in the body and often cannot be fully communicated using language alone, we begin to understand that objects were intimately connected with their makers and, likewise, that such skill-based knowledge often could not be transferred without also transferring the maker. In other words, techniques had to be taught in person, and objects and designs that required unknown techniques generally could not be replicated simply by viewing an object made using that technique.

As such, a basic finding presented in this book, particularly in the first three case studies, is the notion that even though artistic concepts may have been developed in the imperial capital in the Han, such styles were not reproduced fully and automatically in local places. Localities had their own artisans and artistic traditions, and as they reproduced styles generated in the capital or elsewhere, they made significant changes to those genres, reflecting the technologies, interests, and traditions of those local areas. This is particularly illustrated in chapter 2, which demonstrates that many of the local developments in certain genres became quite important and bore a tenuous relationship to the precedents upon which they were based. This chapter discusses rock-cut tombs—massive grotto tombs built in the mountains by the manual excavation of thousands of tons of limestone rock. Although such sites were likely influenced by Emperor Wen's tomb, which may have been built on or near a mountain, the local tombs assumed a very different form than the emperor's original and had a profound impact on royal tomb construction thereafter.

The implications of the skill-based nature of artistic knowledge also come into play in chapter 3, which discusses the miniature terracotta armies of the Han. The chapter responds to recent discussions of terracotta warriors that have argued that the Han figurines were not heirs to the Qin sculptural legacy on account of their size and modeling (and because the style of the Qin terracotta army may have been influenced by the Hellenistic sculptural tradition). In this chapter, I highlight the continuities between the Qin and Han sculptural traditions, arguing that the theme of the figures, their style, the processes by which they were manufactured, their close temporal proximity, and their positions relative to a specific tomb provide explicit evidence linking the Qin and Han traditions, despite the difference in scale. The reduction in size, I point out, had to do specifically with the emphasis on benevolent rule in the Han, which required that rulers avoid projects that would require too much tax labor and would thereby compromise their carefully forged political reputations.

There are several advantages to examining the transfer of artistic ideas in early Western Han China through the lens of materiality. First, a materials-based approach counters what is often referred to as “the linguistic turn” in art history—that is, a reduction of paintings and sculptures to signifiers or *texts* to be read.²² Iconographical approaches to art history of this type have been particularly dominant in the field of early Chinese art. Most commonly, scholars decode the meaning of each object in a tomb,

considering how each object symbolically provided something for the disembodied soul. These studies do a good job of highlighting possible meanings invested in specific arrangements of objects in the tomb. Careful ground has also been broken in charging these meanings with religious significance. However, this study proposes that much can be gained from understanding the material side of tomb objects and the meanings that arise from other phases in an object's life cycle, such as the object's manufacture, the tactical choices presented by the material itself, or the installation and arrays at the funeral.²³

Second, material approaches better take into account the full range of somatic responses (olfactory, tactile, auditory, etc.) as experienced when viewing an object or site. In this book, for example, we consider how the smoothness and sound of jade heightened its desirability; how the purported "stench" of purple-dyed textiles may have contributed to their demise; and how the impermeability of stone made the rock-cut tomb a desirable architectural form.

A final advantage to a materials-based approach is that focusing on materials encourages us to construct social histories of art.²⁴ This can be as simple as showing how the cost of materials affected the value of a mural painting or how the rarity and high cost of jade imparted special worth to a jade suit. But such an approach, as Baxandall's original study demonstrated, also makes us conscious of artistic skill as an aspect of production that bore a certain value.²⁵ In chapter 3, for example, I show how local kings increasingly imparted higher value to works that highlighted the individual artist's free-hand application of fine-line paint and color, as opposed to the more labor-intensive, life-size sculpted works that were typical of what had gone before.

OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTERS

This book centers on five genres of art or architecture in the Western Han that each form a case study. In each case, we are dealing with an aspect of art production in the provinces that sheds light on the relationship between the imperial court and the kingly courts. Each case comprises one chapter of the book (chapters 2–6). Preceding these is a chapter (chapter 1) on the kings and the court in the early Western Han, which provides the historical context for the five cases that form our study.

Chapter 1 addresses the institutional history of the Han. It presents a thorough overview of the relationship between the kings and the imperial

house in the early Han and counters a prior perspective that saw the shared system of governance as regressive and bound to fail. The chapter reveals how the early emperors, particularly after the autocratic and meritocratic reign of the Qin emperor, struggled to accept the kings as coadministrators in the early empire. However, when one emperor, Emperor Wen, put his mind to institutionalizing a working, multicentered empire, the results were exceptional, commencing a flourishing period of artistic production in the provinces and a reign that to this day is viewed as a golden era. Unfortunately, as this chapter demonstrates, the period of harmony between the court and the kings was short-lived. The succeeding emperor, Emperor Jing, worked to centralize the empire and deprive the kings of their territory and power, shifting the government from a multicentered administration to an increasingly autocratic one.

Chapters 2 through 6 comprise the book's five case studies. The first three examine local expression through artistic genres that were utilized by royal elites throughout the early empire and that were influenced by trends at the capital. Chapter 2 considers the relationship between the rock-cut tombs constructed in the kingdoms during the early Han and Emperor Wen's Baling 霸陵, the tomb of the fourth Han emperor. It shows that, although the kings were likely influenced by the emperor's tomb, which may have been built on or near a loess cliff, the most significant developments in the architectural style occurred as kings experimented with building tombs in rocky mountains outside of the capital. Chapter 3 focuses on the miniature terracotta armies that have been discovered in the vicinity of kings' tombs. Comparing these armies with those produced in the capital region, the chapter explains why the miniature size of the armies particularly suited kings' political interests in the early Western Han. Chapter 4 focuses on the jade suits that have been found in many early Western Han kings' tombs. This chapter considers why such suits would have been popular among the rulers of numerous kingdoms in the early period and presents evidence that at least some of the suits were manufactured locally. Each of these three chapters illustrates how the transfer of styles from the center to the periphery (and among peripheral states) led not to rote imitation, as is often assumed, but rather to further, more significant innovation.

Against the grand view presented by the previous three chapters, chapters 5 and 6 each focus on a specific localized art form or product, illustrating that kings not only commissioned works that confirmed their local authority

through modes of expression used across the empire but also developed unique local products, artworks, and styles. Chapter 5 examines the Shiyuan 柿園 murals, found in a rock-cut tomb likely commissioned by a king of Liang 梁. The Shiyuan murals are the only set of murals found in a Han royal tomb to date, and their iconography is distinctive when compared to later Han murals because they do not portray the deceased, nor do they include scenes of banqueting, hunting, palaces, or scenes of the sun, moon, etc., as were common in later tombs. This chapter considers the iconography, execution, and function of the murals within the tomb setting, arguing that the Shiyuan murals represent an experimental form of tomb ornamentation in the early Han that was pursued by one local king and that connected with his particular political and religious ideals and local culture. Although mural painting ultimately may not have been a popular mode of tomb ornamentation for royal burials in the Western Han, this case illustrates the type of experimentation that occurred locally, which led to great diversity and advancement in the arts during the period.

Chapter 6 documents the way the kings not only innovated in executing works in existing genres but also maintained and stimulated existing local industries in their provinces. I argue that, as kings supported and expanded those industries, they were often eventually taken over by the imperial house. This chapter illustrates this through an analysis of a particular local industry that operated from the Zhou to the Han—the purple textile industry of the kingdom of Qi. It details the history of that industry, the reasons why Qi likely maintained a monopoly over it, and the importance of that industry for various expressions of color symbolism in the Han period. I argue that the development of the purple textile industry under the Qi kings of the Han contributed to the ascension of purple to the top of the color hierarchy by the middle of the Western Han and likely fueled Emperor Wu’s 武帝 (r. 141–87 BCE) desire to control Qi’s textile workshops.

Overall, each of these five cases highlights the complexity of artistic transitions in the early Han. In each one, the presence of elites outside of the capital region contributed to the development of art styles by introducing local materials, artistic techniques, and traditions to the broader empire. Local kings not only fueled new developments in existing genres but also experimented with new forms and maintained and nurtured local industries. By looking closely at the details presented and the analyses for all five,

we observe how the structure of the early Han empire—with the emperor as *primus inter pares*—profited artistic production in a way that did not occur after the empire became more centralized. The unique center-periphery dynamic that we observe during this specific time resulted in the development of artistic genres that would form the basis of Chinese funerary art for the remainder of premodern Chinese history.

Chapter One

THE KINGS AND THE COURT IN THE EARLY WESTERN HAN

We are used to talking about the emperors of the Han, but in some cases, such as this study of the art produced under both imperial (palace) *and* royal (provincial) auspices, it is crucial to talk about the Han kings. The general scholar may be unfamiliar with them as political figures, as persons, and as important local actors. Who were the kings of the early Western Han? What was their political role, or roles? How did they fit into the various government policies beginning with the reign of the Western Han founding emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 202–195 BCE), and how did such interconnections cause either their aggrandizement or diminishment? How would one describe the kings' degree of sovereignty relative to the imperial court (which lay at the heart of the Chang'an 長安 metropolis) as well as their economic impact in their own territories? Such questions become relevant in our study, which deals with the special qualities, genres, styles, and materials of objects excavated from the territories of the early Western Han kings—items especially related to the reigns of Emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE) and his son Emperor Jing 景帝 (r. 157–141 BCE), particularly in the area of funerary art. Thus, the chapters after the present one, with their stories concerning categories and motivations of artisans, materials, and aesthetic styles, will rest to some degree on what this chapter reveals about the relationship of the kings to the imperial center, and how they ruled in their own territories.

A discussion of early Western Han kings is also important because of the significant political change that many historians see as having occurred

during the period from before the Qin down to the early Han. During the Qin (221–207 BCE), the empire's provinces were ruled in a hierarchical manner as commanderies (*jun* 郡) by governors (*shou* 守) directly appointed from the imperial center. Subsequently, in the successor dynasty of Han, a mixed system of governance was introduced: governors directly administered the western half of the empire, while kings, who eventually became chosen on a hereditary basis, administered the eastern half. The kings ensured the continuance of the imperial line and removed imperial princes from the capital region. The reintroduction (namely, the dipping back into pre-Qin policies) of province-governing kings, however, was not easy. The Qin's well-designed and well-executed laws and rituals had encouraged many of its subjects (and the historians and critics whose surviving writings are an important basis for our interpretations) to accept that Qin political authority was based on merit and that the state was separate from imperial authority.

For our purposes, it should be noted that throughout the Han, the power and function of the kings were constantly being questioned, challenged, and redefined. Therefore, one of this chapter's tasks is to reexamine the role of the kings in the early Western Han. I will draw on recent scholars such as Shigeo Kamada, Hans Bielenstein, Michael Loewe, Griet Vankeerberghen, Tang Xiejun, Weng Gongyu, and others, who have given us important details concerning the institutional history of the kings.¹ But the present chapter differs from these treatments in that it focuses on a narrow chronological period—the early Han (ca. 202–141 BCE)—and documents the history and shifts in the position of the kings to the end of Emperor Jing's reign. This span of time works well because we have so many materials to examine from the archeology of this period, mostly in the rich finds of early Western Han funerary arrangements. In contrast to prior accounts, this chapter will emphasize the ways the Han institution of kings, established against the backdrop of the Qin, was a new, experimental, and constantly changing mode of governance.

A second goal of this chapter is to provide a more complex account of the arc of decline of the kings' power from the founding of the empire to Emperor Jing's reign. In the past, the great kingdoms of the early Han have been regarded as inherently doomed based on the hereditary nature of the institution. Systems of rule based on blood, Li Si and Sima Qian, officials of the Qin and Han argued, will inevitably fall apart as relatives become increasingly estranged over time and eventually seek the throne for themselves.² For this reason, some authors have argued that the Seven Kingdoms Revolt of 154 BCE, a crucial point in the kings' fall from power, was the inevitable outcome

of a Han administrative system that, as paralleled in the ancient Zhou dynasty (1045–256 BCE), would always tend toward dissolution.³ Others have adopted a slightly different narrative, contending that the revolt occurred in response to imperial efforts to reduce the kingdoms during the reigns of Emperors Wen and Jing. These scholars argue that the court during those eras recognized the danger of continuing to administer the empire via kings and actively began to weaken them. As more and more territory was taken away, they contend, the kings' relationship with the court declined and they revolted.⁴

Without question, systems of regional administration through a hereditary monarchy often do face the problem of estrangement. However, this was not the most critical problem faced by the early Han emperors. Instead, as will be shown, many of the early revolts either were deliberately instigated by emperors who favored centralized modes of rule and aimed to get rid of the kings or occurred as a byproduct of the dynastic instability that ensued after Emperor Gaozu's death and after the Lü呂 clan was removed from power.

It was not the case that the system of rule by kings was necessarily doomed. As will be demonstrated, the Han hereditary system was distinct from the Zhou system in that the Han kings had far less independence than the regional Zhou lords. Also, the fourth Han emperor, Emperor Wen, resolved many of the problems with the royal administrative system by creating kingdoms of manageable size, strategically positioning kings, and strengthening familial bonds between local areas and the court that had languished under prior emperors. The Revolt of the Seven Kingdoms occurred not because of growing discontent among the kings, as is often stated, but because of the radical policies of Emperor Wen's son, Emperor Jing, who began the process of dismantling the mixed (commandery plus kingdom) system of governance in order to establish a more centralized and autocratic state. This more nuanced history of the early empire will make more evident why there was such a high degree of diversity and freedom in artistic production in the early empire, ruled by Emperor Wen, and why this freedom was significantly curtailed during the reigns of Emperors Jing and Wu 武帝 (r. 141–87 BCE).

THE EARLIEST HAN KINGSHIPS: WERE THEY A REVIVAL OF THE ZHOU SYSTEM?

The group of individuals that this book and chapter centers around were the *zhuhou wang* 諸侯王. The term has come across in English as “princes,” “regional rulers,” “feudal lords,” and “kings.” Such a multiplicity of past

renderings is not a matter of incompetent translation but rather a reflection of the fact that the nature of the kings' position shifted dramatically from the early to late Western Han. In this section, we examine the early history of the position of "king"—particularly, the term itself and the manner by which kings operated, especially in the time following the Qin's elimination of systems of regional administration through a hereditary monarchy.

In the past, several leading scholars have reviewed the Han system of mixed administration negatively. Hans Bielenstein, for example, has argued that the reinstatement of kings during the Han was an evolutionarily backward step taken by the Han founder that reversed many of the institutional advances made during the Qin:

The founder of Former Han attempted to combine the legalist bureaucratic system he had inherited from the Ch'in [Qin] dynasty (221–207 BC) with a partial revival of the earlier feudal system, i.e., he continued to divide the empire into commanderies, but he also granted some of these to his followers and relatives as *Kingdoms* (wang kuo). This was a retrograde step which ultimately led to the rebellion of the Seven Kingdoms in 154 B.C.⁵

In the view of Bielenstein and others, the Qin's meritocratic type of government represented one of the great advancements in world history, hence the judgment of backwardness on the part of the Han founder. It was thought that the Han was bound to fail for the same reasons as the Zhou political system did: the powerful kings would want to rise up in revolt to take the imperial throne.

Similarly, Lao Gan argued that the founding Han emperor Gaozu made the choice to revive provincial ruler-kings because he misinterpreted the cause of the Qin's failure:

There were probably people who thought that the Qin had enacted the commandary/county system for fifteen years only to lose their state while the Zhou enacted the feudal system and preserved [their rule] for 800 years. . . . Of course, the Qin lost their state because they were harsh and not due to the commandary/county system. Those who praised the feudal perspective were wrong. But during that time, this [reasoning] was influential.

大概有人以秦行郡縣制度十五年就亡國，周行封建制度，維持了八百年……當然，秦的亡國由於苛刻，而並非由於郡縣，這個贊成封建的觀察是錯誤的，但在當時可以動人。⁶

The reinstatement of the kings in the Han, in Lao Gan's view, was a mistake that occurred from a wrong assessment of the recent past.

The idea that the Han's return to the appointment of kings as provincial rulers represented a revival of the Western Zhou (1045–771 BCE) system of governance can be connected in part to the title, *zhuhou wang*. It is in a sense a portmanteau word. It combines “lord/lords” (*zhuhou*), a term used to refer to the Western Zhou nobles in the collective, with “king” (*wang*), since antiquity a reference to a certain type of independent ruler.

An Eastern Han scholar, Cai Yong 蔡邕 (ca. 133–192 CE) explained the title as connected to the specific context of the early Han in the *Duduan* 獨斷 [Solitary decisions]:

According to the Han system, the emperor's sons were invested as *wang* [王]; in reality they were *zhuhou* [諸侯]. At the end of the Zhou, some of the *zhuhou* styled themselves *wang*; as the Han Son of Heaven adopted for himself the title of *Huangdi* [皇帝] he added the term *wang* to the title of those sons, who were in general termed *Zhuhou wang*.⁷

Cai's is a simple and logical account of why regional rulers came to acquire the name *zhuhou wang*. He suggests that the kings were employed by the Han founder in emulation of the old, and highly validated, Zhou system. The term, however, changed, he claimed, because the Han emperor had taken the more elevated title of “emperor,” which accordingly enabled the regional rulers to be elevated to the title of “king.”

There are problems with this interpretation. First, “*zhuhou wang*” was not invented by the Han founder, Liu Bang 劉邦, but rather was a title already in circulation during the wars that defined the Qin and Han interregnum. In the early part of the wars, a group of commoner-warlords had revolted against the Qin. Initially, they did so by capturing cities and positioning descendants of the former Warring States (480–221 BCE) kings on the throne, declaring that they wanted to restore the former states that had been extinguished by the Qin. As such, the title “king” (*wang*), which had not been used since the Warring States, was resurrected.

The longer, complex expression *zhuhou wang* came about later, after Xiang Yu 項羽 defeated the Qin army and took control of the Qin capital at Xianyang. Not content to rule from Xianyang, Xiang Yu went east to make his capital at Pengcheng 彭城, giving himself the title of “Hegemon King of Western Chu” (西楚霸王). Along with assuming a new title for himself, he also promoted many of the commoner-generals who had led the

revolts on behalf of the restored kingdoms to the rank of king. Together with those kings who were descendants of Warring States royalty, this group was referred to as *zhuhou wang*, perhaps to emphasize their collective subordination to Xiang Yu as hegemon.⁸

Zhuhou wang originally did not refer exclusively to men related to each other by blood, nor was it an attempt to restore the ruling system of the Western Zhou. Instead, it was used by Xiang Yu to justify his own kingship (since he was not a descendant of a former king) and to create a multistate situation, which could aid his gradual conquest of territories. If Xiang Yu had openly striven for emperorhood at that time, then the other rebels and kings would have joined together in opposition to him.

Yet another problem exists in the traditional account of the new *zhuhou wang*: it gives something of a wrong impression concerning the degree of choice that the Han founder had in setting up the administrative structure. In the wars that followed Xiang Yu's declaring himself Hegemon King of Western Chu, Liu Bang, the Han founder, emerged as Xiang Yu's primary rival. To defeat his foe, he bestowed kingships on his most valued followers to maintain their loyalty: men such as generals that he had lured away from Xiang Yu or those of his own ranks that had conquered significant territory. As such, when Emperor Gaozu assumed the title "emperor" (or *huangdi*), he was not a leader who had defeated all of the other kings like the First Emperor, but rather a man who had secured the support of a critical group of powerful men in the empire. This is exemplified by a speech given at his inauguration by those who had received kingships during the war. Inviting Liu Bang to become emperor, these men, together with his generals and ministers, declared:

You, great king, arose from obscurity, punished the violent and cruel, pacified and secured the four seas. For those with military merit, you accordingly divided your territory, and granted it to us as kings and marquises. If you, great king, do not elevate your title, all [titles] will be suspect and unreliable. We, your subjects, risk death to present this request.

大王起微細，誅暴逆，平定四海，有功者輒裂地而封為王侯。大王不尊號，皆疑不信。臣等以死守之。⁹

Thus, at the beginning of his reign, Liu Bang, now emperor, established a ruling position closer to that of hegemon. Moreover, the seven general-kings (referred to by modern scholars as *yixing wang* 異姓王, or "kings with

TABLE 1.1

General-kings (*yixing wang*) installed by Emperor Gaozu (r. 202–195 BCE)

Kingdom	King	Reign dates (BCE)	Reason for loss of kingship
1 Han 韓	Han Wang Xin 韓王信	205–200	Transferred to the northern border; fled to the Xiongnu (200); revolted against the Han (197) and was executed
2 Zhao 趙	Zhang Er 張耳	203–202	Died with heir
	Zhang Ao 張敖	202/201–198	Demoted to marquis (182)
3 Yan 燕	Zang Tu 漢荼	202–202	Revolted
	Lu Wan 墨綰	202–195	Fled to the Xiongnu and died about a year later
4 Huainan 淮南	Ying Bu 英布	203–196	Revolted and was executed
5 Chu 楚	Han Xin 韓信	202–201	Transferred from Qi (r. 203–202); was accused of plotting revolt; was pardoned and demoted to marquis (201); revolted (197) and was executed
6 Liang 梁	Peng Yue 彭越	202–197	Accused of plotting revolt twice; first time (197), was pardoned and reduced to commoner status; second time, was executed
7 Changsha 長沙	Wu Rui 吳芮	202–201	Died with heir
	Wu Chen 吳臣	201–193	Died with heir

a surname different [from Liu]”) controlled more than half the territory of the empire (table 1.1). In Lao Gan’s estimation, they, the general-kings, controlled 1,340,000 square kilometers and the Han controlled 1,090,000.¹⁰ Moreover, the most valuable tracts of the empire—to the east and south—belonged to the kings. At this point, Liu Bang was not powerful enough to remove the kings from power; he would spend the majority of his reign fighting battles to unseat them.

KINGS DESCENDED FROM THE LIU FAMILY

In the recent past, historians who have analyzed the earliest Western Han kings have not dealt very much with those general-kings, but rather with a following wave of kings who received appointments after Emperor Gaozu began to remove the general-kings (figure 1.1) from their positions. These historians argue, broadly speaking, that the emperor could have



FIGURE 1.1 Map of the ten kingdoms of the Han empire in 195 BCE, the final year of Emperor Gaozu's reign. Redrawn by Gary Wang and the author after Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han zhengqu dili*, 11, map 2.

chosen to retain the subdued territories for himself. The histories, however, suggest that if the emperor left territories like Qi 齊 unassigned after recovering them from the general-kings, he would have potentially faced revolts that he might not have been able to suppress.¹¹ Kings, in other words, were still required because the emperor had not fully gained control over the empire.

In this circumstance, the most sensible candidates for the kingships were his family members. Tian Ken 田肯, a courtier, advised, “if not your beloved sons and brothers, [then] no one else can be sent out as King of Qi” (非親子弟，莫可使王齊矣).¹² Nonetheless, if we examine Emperor Gaozu’s placements, the first person he enthroned to replace a revolting king after he became emperor was not a family member but rather a close childhood friend, Lu Wan 盧綰, who had assisted him in the war. He enthroned Lu in Yan 燕 after that kingdom’s king, Zang Tu 殘荼, revolted; Zang had only nominally surrendered a few months after Xiang Yu’s defeat.¹³ The histories indicate that his appointment displeased some officials because, although Lu Wan had participated in the wars, others had garnered considerably more merit.¹⁴ The fact that Lu Wan was installed as king before the emperor’s family members casts serious doubt on the notion that the emperor’s goal was to revive the Zhou system of administration.

The earliest Liu-family kings, three of them, were appointed to their territories in 201 BCE (table 1.2). The emperor considered strategy, not merit or clan seniority, as he conferred territory on these men. To Jia 賈, his cousin, who had the most military merit, he assigned the lesser territory of Jing 莖, which he extracted from the much larger Chu 楚 region.¹⁵ To his son Fei 肥 and his younger brother Jiao 交, with whom he had a stronger relationship, he assigned the desirable territories of Qi and Chu, respectively.¹⁶ In 200 BCE, he assigned the territory of Dai 代 to his older brother Xi 喜 so as to stabilize the northern region, which had suffered frequent incursions.¹⁷

In the view of the histories, these newly appointed Liu-family kings were “unworthy” (*buxian* 不賢) of their kingships.¹⁸ Two out of the four early Liu family kings, for example, lost their territory as soon as they faced a military challenge. Emperor Gaozu’s brother Liu Xi, introduced above, fled to Luoyang 洛陽 rather than face a Xiongnu attack¹⁹ and was demoted. The emperor then appointed his favored son, eight-year-old Ruyi 如意, as king of Dai.²⁰ Similarly, although Liu Jia met an attack on his kingdom by the rebel, Ying Bu 英布, he was killed in battle.²¹ Overall, for security and in particular for the defense of the northern territories, the emperor relied not on the kings but on militarily strong chief ministers such as Chen Xi 陳豨, Zhang Cang 張蒼, and Zhou Chang 周昌. But like the nonfamily kings (*yixing wang*), these ministers were also known to rebel, as Chen Xi did in 197.²²

This discussion has revealed several important points about early Western Han kings. First, their positions were not due to a deliberate plan for

TABLE 1.2

Kings of the Liu family installed by Emperor Gaozu (r. 202–195 BCE)

Kingdom	King	Relationship to Emperor Gaozu	Reign dates (BCE)	Reason for loss of kingship
1 Jing 莖	Liu Jia 劉賈	Cousin	201–196	Killed in battle
2 Chu 楚	Liu Jiao 劉交	Younger brother	201–179	Died with heir
3 Qi 齊	Liu Fei 劉肥	Son	201–189	Died with heir
4 Zhao 趙	Liu Ruyi 劉如意	Son	198–195	Transferred from Dai (r. 200–198); killed by Empress Dowager Lü
5 Dai 代	Liu Xi 劉喜	Older brother	201–200	Demoted to marquis
	Liu Ruyi 劉如意	Son	200–198	Transferred to Zhao (r. 198–195)
	Liu Heng 劉恆	Son	196–180	Assumed emperorship (Emperor Wen, r. 179–157)
6 Huainan 淮南	Liu Chang 劉長	Son	196–174	Revolted during Emperor Wen's reign; was removed from his position and exiled to Shu, where he died. Later (164), his three sons were made kings
7 Yan 燕	Liu Jian 劉建	Son	195–181	Died without heir
8 Huaiyang 淮陽	Liu You 劉友	Son	196–194	Transferred to Zhao (r. 194–181); killed by Empress Dowager Lü
9 Liang 梁	Liu Hui 劉恢	Son	196–181	Transferred to Zhao (r. 181–181); committed suicide
10 Wu 吳	Liu Pi 劉濞	Son of his older brother Liu Xi, king of Dai	195–154	Revolted during Emperor Jing's reign and was killed

a provincial kingship system by Emperor Gaozu, as has often been stated. Instead, the system of kings arose from the circumstances of war. Second, Emperor Gaozu never aspired to re-create the Zhou, an era in which the ruling Son of Heaven directly administered only his immediate domain and relied on relatives to govern linked polities. Rather, he preferred to rule the empire directly through a centralized administration but was forced to rely on family members to aid him with provincial administration when it became apparent that if he tried to control regions such as Qi directly, he might face revolts that would result in the loss of his hard-won emperorship.

The Liu-family kings also differed from the Zhou regional lords in terms of their political authority and independence from the imperial court. The Zhou regional lords ruled independently because the Zhou territory was never unified; it lacked an integrated administrative system, a single system

of weights and measures, standardized script, etc.²³ In contrast, the territory of the Han empire had been unified under the Qin, and governance under the Liu family, as we will see, was similar in the commanderies and the kingdoms. The kings, therefore, despite their elevated title, functioned more like aristocratic governors than rulers of independent states.

THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF THE EARLY HAN GENERAL-KINGS COMPARED TO THOSE OF THE LIU-FAMILY KINGS

Because the early Han kings were of two different types—general-kings (nonfamily kings) and members of Emperor Gaozu's Liu family—the Han state's officials, perhaps instinctively, treated the two groups quite differently. The general-kings were viewed in a certain sense as potential enemies. Statutes excavated from Zhangjiashan 張家山 tomb 247, for example, prescribe the punishment of being severed at the waist for anyone who surrendered a Han town, settlement, or garrison post to a noble (*zhuhou*).²⁴ Another statute rewarded men who arrested spies sent from their territories.²⁵

As soon as he became emperor, Emperor Gaozu began fortifying the capital against the general-kings because of the threat that they posed. The capital, at that time, was sparsely populated because of the conquest, and the emperor ordered the relocation of the aristocratic clans of the Warring States that still resided in Qi and Chu (more than a hundred thousand) into the capital region.²⁶ This not only prevented these strong families from joining with the general-kings in any uprising but also opened the possibility of using this population for broader military strategies.²⁷ The emperor's adviser Liu Jing 劉敬 argued, "As long as things are going well, they can defend the area against the barbarians, and if there should be disaffection among the collected lords (*zhuhou*), they would form an army which could be led east and used in putting down the trouble."²⁸

To prevent relocated populations from returning to their former states, Emperor Gaozu also heavily restricted the movement of people out of the capital through the passes. Passports (*zhuan* 傳) or authorization tallies (*fu* 符), as well as "transit documents" (*zhi* 致), which notified officials of the transportation of people or goods, were required for legal passage through a river ford or a highland pass.²⁹ He also made it a crime to abscond to a kingdom or to lure residents out of the capital.³⁰

The governments of the Liu-family kings had better relations with the central court than did the early general-kings, and the court controlled

their administrations to a far greater extent. With regard to the nonfamily kings, the few passages in the histories that pertain to the administration of these early states indicate that such kings had nearly full control of their own administrations. Local chief ministers, for example, in these kingdoms were appointed by the king. For example, Guan Gao 貢高 and Zhao Wu 趙午, who both served as chief ministers of Zhao 趙 under the general-king, Zhang Ao 張敖, after the empire's founding, were former companions of the king's father.³¹

In contrast, the early Han Liu-family kings wielded much less control over their administrations. Technically, these kings were free to select their entire administration with the exception of the post of chief minister, an office that oversaw the imperial tallies required in order for kings to send out troops.³² However, prior scholarship has overlooked the degree of power wielded by the chief minister in these early kingdoms because of the kings' lack of experience with administration.

Consider the ages of many of the early Han Liu-family kings. When seventeen-year-old Emperor Hui 惠 (r. 194–188 BCE) took the throne following Emperor Gaozu, all except three of the Liu-family kings were younger than the new emperor:

Liu Ruyi, king of Zhao, was thirteen.

Liu Heng 劉恆, king of Dai (the future Emperor Wen), was eight.

Liu Chang 劉長, king of Huainan 淮南, was about four.

Liu You 劉友, king of Huaiyang 淮陽; Liu Hui 劉恢, king of Liang 梁; and Liu Jian 劉建, king of Yan, were even younger.³³

Under Emperor Hui, of the nine kingdoms ruled by Liu-family kings, six were ruled by children who could not have ruled on their own. Such kings depended on their court-appointed chief ministers for assistance. Thus, for example, because the emperor wished to eventually have Liu Ruyi as his heir, he sent down his own royal counsellor, Zhou Chang, to Zhao as chief minister to protect Ruyi against the machinations of Empress Lü 呂皇后 (r. 187–180 BCE).³⁴ Clearly, with such children as kings, the emperors' own appointees, at least early on, would have handled all of the administration.

Next, we look at the three Liu kings who were not children—Liu Fei of Qi, Liu Jiao of Chu, and Liu Pi 劉濞 of Wu. The histories indicate that they also relied heavily on their court-appointed chief ministers for governance. One case concerned Liu Fei. The *Shiji* indicates that although he technically

exercised his authority to appoint his own officials, the chief minister generally vetted and introduced ministers to the king. For this reason, we learn that Wei Bo 魏勃 pursued a position in Qi not by approaching the king himself but rather by sweeping the doorstep of one of the retainers of the chief minister, Cao Shen 曹參, each morning. After the retainer introduced him to Cao, Cao interviewed him and recommended him to the king, who appointed Wei as internal secretary.³⁵ In other words, even in kingdoms with older kings, the court-appointed chief ministers played a stronger administrative role than is often recognized, frequently selecting the candidates that the king would appoint to positions.

It is important to note that the Han kingdoms' administrations were set up as miniature versions of the Han imperial court.³⁶ According to the histories, as in the capital, the kings had a grand tutor (*taifu* 太傅), who assisted the king; a governor of the capital area (*neishi* 內史), who governed the people; a commandant of capital security (*zhongwei* 中尉), who was responsible for his military; and a chief minister (*chengxiang* 丞相), who oversaw his officials (and who held the troop tallies).³⁷ Seals, clay seal impressions, and other inscribed objects excavated archaeologically have generally confirmed this account.³⁸ With a few exceptions, the majority of local kingdom positions matched parallel posts in the imperial state system. The system of the imperial court and that of the kingdoms would become even more closely aligned during reigns of Emperor Hui and Empress Dowager Lü, when it is presumed that all high kingdom officials with salaries of two thousand piculs and above were selected by the imperial court.³⁹

With respect to legal, including penal, policies, it is clear that the provincial kingdoms lead by Liu-family kings were far less independent than has often been recognized. Some scholars have argued that in the early Han, kings were free to enact their own laws in their kingdoms.⁴⁰ This is highly unlikely, however, for several reasons. First, the kings did not have permanent appointments in their kingdoms but, like administrators, were frequently moved from one kingdom to another when it suited the imperial court.⁴¹ We note that after eliminating the king of Zhao, Empress Dowager Lü, for example, moved Liu You to Zhao from Huaiyang, in order to take control of the important province of Huaiyang and turn it into a directly managed commandery.⁴² At times, kings were moved for reasons such as negligence or violation of duties. For example, Empress Dowager Lü also juridically removed her relative Lü Jia 呂嘉, purportedly for behaving in an "arrogant and imperious fashion," and replaced him with her nephew.⁴³

When kings were moved or when a king died without heir, sometimes their former territories would be directly governed for a period of time by the imperial government. If we assume that each time a kingdom was abolished and reinstated its local area had to adapt to new laws, this would have caused a great deal of confusion and unrest.

Finally, the histories provide specific evidence that the kings were subject to Han law and responsible for executing Han law in their kingdoms. The charges laid against Liu Chang, king of Huainan, who revolted during the reign of Emperor Wen, stated: “He did not apply the laws of the Han . . . he called [his orders] (imperial) decrees, made laws and ordinances of his own, imitating the Son of Heaven” (不用漢法，出入稱警蹕，稱制，自為法令，擬於天子).⁴⁴ This indicates that during the Han it was expected that Han law would be applied both in the kingdoms and in the commanderies, even though some kings did violate this policy. In fact, Jia Yi 賈誼 (200–168 BCE), a famous minister who served during Emperor Wen’s reign, also complained that some of the kings, “without authorization, rewarded ranks and offered pardons from the death penalty.”⁴⁵

If the kings’ administrations were at least supposed to follow Han law and were mostly run by administrators selected by the capital, then why were the kings still perceived as a potential threat to the imperial court? As kings aged, their accrued wealth collected from taxes and the large proportion of the population that they controlled became a problem for the imperial court. According to the histories, each king collected two types of taxes: one supported the king’s “private” expenses and the other provided the “public” funds for operating the state.⁴⁶ (This split financial system also existed in the capital and was based on the notion that the state existed separately from the person of the sovereign.)

The taxes that supported the king’s private expenses are described as business taxes derived from the production of mountains, rivers, orchards, lakes, and markets as well as the tax on minors, discussed below.⁴⁷ These were controlled by the king’s Lesser Treasury (*shaofu* 少府), and they sometimes made kings quite wealthy. We learn that even after the Seven Kingdoms Revolt, the private income that Liu Pengzu 彭祖, king of Zhao (r. 152–93; previously king of Guangchuan 廣川, r. 155–152), earned by levying taxes on merchants “was so great that it exceeded the [kingdom’s] regular income from taxes.”⁴⁸ The king of Wu 吳 also became wealthy from a copper mountain in his territory that he utilized for the minting of coins and from his coastal salt-mining industry.⁴⁹

The taxes levied for the operation of the state were set amounts based on standards set by the capital. These taxes included a land tax (*tianzu*

田租), paid in grain, and a poll tax paid in cash.⁵⁰ In the early Han, the land tax was one-fifteenth of the yield; it was reduced by half in 168 BCE during Emperor Wen's reign and then abolished in 167 BCE.⁵¹ In 156 BCE, during Emperor Jing's reign, it was levied at a rate of one-thirteenth.⁵² Poll taxes were head, or census-type taxes. These included a tax on adults age fifteen to fifty-six (*suanfu* 算賦), a tax on minors (*koufu* 口賦), as well as a tax on households of farmers and businessmen (*hufu* 戶賦). In addition, the *gengfu* 更賦 tax was paid in currency in lieu of performing labor service and property taxes.⁵³

Each year the kings (as well as the commanderies) presented a “donation” (*xianfei* 獻費) to the imperial court. The *Hanshu* records the amount as sixty-three coins per person in the kingdoms; in effect, this was required annually.⁵⁴ (At some point—at least by 112 BCE, and possibly as early as Emperor Wen's reign—this offering in coins may have been changed to an annual offering in gold.)⁵⁵ Scholars disagree as to whether this donation was a percentage of the poll tax on adults or an additional tax.⁵⁶

In addition to taxes, the empire's overall population was required to provide military and labor service.⁵⁷ Those living in the directly administered commanderies had to travel either to the capital or to a border area to render required labor or military service. However, those in the kingdoms provided their labor directly to the king, within that kingdom. During Emperor Wen's reign, for example, the kingdom of Huainan became a directly administered territory after the king revolted. Jia Yi wrote to the emperor and requested that the emperor reinstall a king rather than try to govern the region directly. The people of Huainan, he remarked, “desperately desire a king” (欲得王至甚). Already, many had fled Huainan for other kingdoms because of the great distances they were required to travel each year to perform their labor service in the capital.⁵⁸

We can summarize this section as follows. The early Han provincial kings were different from the independent kings of prior eras in that their territories were administered under the broad umbrella of the Han state and its centrally propagated policies. In terms of legal and administrative functions, these territories seem to have been run, to some degree at least, in a way similar to the rest of the empire. The primary distinction, it appears, was in the realm of taxation. Whereas in the centrally controlled commanderies, the market and excise taxes supported the emperor's privy purse back in the imperial capital, in the kingdoms these monies benefited the kings locally. In terms of labor service, residents of kingdoms preferred their situation to that of commanderies under direct imperial control, where

residents had to travel out to the capital or to dangerous border regions to perform their service.

EMPEROR WEN'S REFORM OF THE HAN ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM

The multicentered system of administration, reluctantly set into motion by the first Han emperor, was never undergirded with policies to ensure the longevity of the overall system of governance. Changes came about during the reign of the fourth Han emperor, Emperor Wen, whose reign is of primary concern here and in the following chapters of the book. Emperor Wen's reign was a period when the imperial court, following the near loss of the empire because of the machinations of the Lü clan, worked to stabilize the institution of rule by the kings. Although, under the influence of Jia Yi, the emperor did divide kingdoms, he did so with the broader goal of strengthening the multicentered system as a whole rather than working toward the elimination of the kings and the recovery of their land by the court—the goal pursued by the emperor's son, Emperor Jing.

Emperor Wen's reign was most directly affected by the fifteen-year period that immediately preceded his reign—when the empire was ruled by Emperor Hui and then by Lü Zhi 吕雉, the empress of the late Emperor Gaozu. Several changes to the kings' statuses relative to the imperial house occurred during the reigns of Emperor Hui and Empress Dowager Lü. First, during Emperor Hui's reign, in 194 BCE, it was decreed that the chief ministers of the kings would be referred to as chief minister (*chengxiang*) rather than chancellor of the state (*xiangguo* 相國), the title used by chief ministers of the imperial court.⁵⁹ Further, the imperial court decreed that all kings should set up local temples to the Han founder in their territories.⁶⁰ As mentioned previously, it was also during Emperor Hui's reign that historians believe the imperial court began to appoint all high officials of the rank 2,000 piculs and above. During the reign of Empress Dowager Lü, the kings faced further difficulty. She asserted power over them by forcing them to marry her daughters, by removing territory from their kingdoms, and even by murdering those she perceived as enemies—namely, three successive kings of Zhao: Liu Ruyi, Liu You, and Liu Hui. By the time of her death, Empress Dowager Lü had increased the total number of kingdoms from nine to fourteen, positioning her supporters (members of her family, husbands of her daughters, or purported grandsons) in eight of them (table 1.3).⁶¹ She also passed measures that subordinated the status of the kings to the imperial court.

TABLE 1.3

Kings and kingdoms during the reign of Empress Dowager Lü (r. 187–180 BCE)

Kingdom	King	Relationship	Reign dates (BCE)	Reason for loss of kingship
1 Chu 楚	Liu Jiao 劉交	Younger brother of Emperor Gaozu	201–179	Died with heir
2 Lu 魯	Zhang Yan 張偃	Son of king of Zhao, Zhang Ao, and Lu Yuan Gongzhu 魯元公主	187–180	Kingdom abolished in 180; demoted to marquis in 179
3 Wu 吳	Liu Pi 劉濞	King of Dai, Liu Xi's son	195–154	Revolted during Emperor Jing's reign
4 Huainan 淮南	Liu Chang 劉長	Emperor Gaozu's son	196–174	Revolted during Emperor Wen's reign
5 Changsha 長沙	Wu Hui 吳回	King of Changsha, Wu Chen's son	193–186	Died with heir
	Wu Ruo 吳若 (also given as Wu You 吳右)	King of Changsha, Wu Hui's son	186–178	Died with heir
6 Qi 齊	Liu Xiang 劉襄	King of Qi, Liu Fei's son	188–179	Died with heir
7 Langya 琅邪	Liu Ze 劉澤	Distant relative of the imperial family	181–179	Transferred to Yan (r. 179–177); died with heir
8 Lü 呂/Jichuan 濟川	Lü Tai 呂台	Empress Dowager Lü's older brother's son; Lü Chan's older brother	187–186	Died with heir
	Lü Jia 呂嘉	Lü Tai's son	185–182	Deposed by Empress Dowager Lü
	Lü Chan 呂產	Empress Dowager Lü's older brother's son; Lü Tai's younger brother	182–181	Transferred to Liang (r. 181–180); in 181, Liang renamed Lü (and Lü renamed Jichuan); executed (180)
	Liu Tai 劉太 (or Da 大)	Emperor Hui's son	181–180	In 181, Lü renamed Jichuan; transferred to Liang (r. 180–180); killed when Emperor Wen took the throne

(continued)

TABLE 1.3

Kings and kingdoms during the reign of Empress Dowager Lü (r. 187–180 BCE) (continued)

Kingdom	King	Relationship	Reign dates (BCE)	Reason for loss of kingship
9 Zhao 趙	Liu You 劉友	Emperor Gaozu's son	194–181	Transferred from Huaiyang (r. 196–194); killed by Empress Dowager Lü
	Liu Hui 劉恢	Emperor Gaozu's son	181–181	Previously king of Liang (196–181); committed suicide
	Lü Lu 呂祿	Empress Dowager Lü's older brother's son	181–180	Killed when Emperor Wen took the throne
10 Changshan 常山	Liu Buyi 劉不疑	Emperor Hui's (alleged) son	187–186	Died without heir
	Liu Yi 劉義 (changed from Liu Shan 劉山)	Emperor Hui's (alleged) son	186–184	Assumed (puppet) emperorship (Emperor Shao 少帝, name changed to Liu Hong 劉弘, r. 184–180)
	Liu Chao 劉朝	Emperor Hui's (alleged) son	184–180	Killed when Emperor Wen took the throne
11 Dai 代	Liu Heng 劉恆	Emperor Gaozu's son	196–180	Assumed emperorship (Emperor Wen, r. 179–157)
12 Yan 燕	Liu Jian 劉建	Emperor Gaozu's son	195–181	Died without heir
	Lü Tong 呂通	Lü Tai's son	180–180	Killed when Emperor Wen took the throne
13 Huaiyang 淮陽	Liu Qiang 劉強	Emperor Hui's (alleged) son	187–183	Died without heir
	Liu Wu 劉武	Emperor Hui's (alleged) son	182–180	Killed when Emperor Wen took the throne
14 Liang 梁	Liu Hui 劉恢	Emperor Gaozu's son	196–181	Transferred to Zhao (r. 181–181); committed suicide
	Lü Chan 呂產	Lü Tai's younger brother	181–180	Transferred to Lü (r. 182–181); Liang renamed Lü in 181; executed
	Liu Tai 劉太 (or Da 大)	Emperor Hui's son	180–180	Transferred from Jichuan (r. 181–180); killed when Emperor Wen took the throne

When Empress Dowager Lü died in 180 BCE, a child emperor, Hong 烘, held the throne. Lü's funerary edict placed her relatives in appointments that could aid their overthrow of the Liu family.⁶² But before any Lü takeover, the Liu-family king of Qi made his own bid for power.⁶³ In the end, the Lü clan was defeated and officials at the capital invited Emperor Wen—then ruling locally as the king of Dai—to assume the emperorship. Following his coronation, they cleaned out the capital, executing members of the Lü clan and removing those the empress had placed in power in the kingdoms.⁶⁴

Emperor Wen's reign can be distinguished from the reigns of his predecessors in that he was the first to make an earnest effort to institute Liu-family rule. This was not necessarily his own initiative; to the contrary, the histories indicate that when he first took the throne, his advisers communicated to him that the clan had to be strengthened. For example, when the would-be emperor was invited to the capital from Dai for his accession to the throne, his ministers were initially suspicious and encouraged him to decline, fearing that it might be a ministerial setup. Emperor Wen consulted Zhang Wu 張武, his chief of palace attendants, and other ministers, and they warned, "The great ministers of the Han were all originally generals in the time of Emperor Gaozu. They are experienced in warfare and given to plots and deceits. There is more behind their proposal than simply this. . . . They invite you [to become emperor] only as a pretense; in reality, they cannot be trusted."⁶⁵

Against Zhang's advice, however, Emperor Wen accepted the position, in part because he was convinced by the speech of his minister Song Chang 宋昌:

The opinion of the courtiers is utterly wrong! When the Qin lost their ability to rule, the kings and powerful men rose up together in inestimable numbers, each one believing that he could become ruler. But in the end, it was a member of the Liu family who succeeded in stepping into the position of Son of Heaven. . . . This is the first point. . . .

Emperor Gaozu made kings of his sons and brothers and laid out their territories so that they interlocked like the teeth of a dog. This is what is called a rock-solid clan, and the world has bowed before its might. This is the second point.

When the Han arose, they abolished the harsh government of the Qin, simplified the laws and ordinances, and ruled with virtue and kindness so that all men are now at peace and cannot easily be roused to action. This is the third point.

. . . Thus, it is that the throne is bestowed by Heaven and cannot be won by human strength alone! Now even if the great ministers wish to start a rebellion, the common people would never support them.⁶⁶

Song argues here that Heaven had bestowed the emperorship on the Liu clan, which had continued to reign because of its strength. In actuality, however, the clan had been marked by disunity in the years preceding Emperor Wen's accession. Thus, if this speech was given at the time recorded by the histories, it represents an early attempt to shore up the weakening imperial clan.⁶⁷

Emperor Wen used several strategies to strengthen the relationship between the imperial court and the kings. Early in his reign, he requested to appoint an heir apparent from among the kings, arguing that this would reward good behavior, but this was rejected by his ministers.⁶⁸ Second, he immediately reinstalled Liu-family kings in kingdoms from which they had been removed. In 179 BCE, he repositioned kings in Yan and Zhao, and in 178 and 176, he restored kings in Liang and Huaiyang (table 1.4).⁶⁹ He also returned to Qi and Chu the territory that had been taken from them to form new kingdoms during Empress Dowager Lü's reign.⁷⁰ Through these acts, the emperor formally righted some of the wrongs committed against the clan by the Empress. By placing kings in territories that had been vacated, the emperor also declined opportunities to turn these kingdoms into centrally managed commanderies.

Emperor Wen also began a larger campaign to promote the parallel political functions of the kingdoms and the commanderies. Previously, it was noted that during Emperor Hui's reign, the emperor changed the title of the kings' chief minister so as to make a distinction between the chief minister who served the emperor and the chief ministers who served the kings. Emperor Wen, however, reversed this policy, changing the title of his chief minister from chancellor of the state (*xiangguo*) to chief minister (*chengxiang*) so that the chief ministers who served in the imperial court and the kingdoms would bear identical titles, reinforcing the notion that the kings were peers.⁷¹ (His minister, Jia Yi, would later object to this, arguing that the hierarchy needed to be reinforced, but Emperor Wen never reversed the change).⁷² Secondly, he also dismantled the passport system that had been used to control the movement of people and goods in the empire.⁷³ This followed the advice of Jia Yi, who recommended that the sovereign "get rid of the passes and allow all regions to be connected to show that the empire is not merely the small region located in the land within the passes" (罷關一通，示天下無以區區獨有關中者).⁷⁴

Finally, in his formal presentations, Emperor Wen represented himself as the emperor who would finally lead the clan. This is reflected in the

TABLE 1.4

Kings and kingdoms in 178 BCE, the early reign of Emperor Wen

Kingdom	King	Relationship	Reign dates (BCE)	Reason for loss of kingship
1 Chu 楚	Liu Yingke 劉郢客	King of Chu, Liu Jiao's son	178–175	Died with heir
2 Wu 吳	Liu Pi 劉濞	King of Dai, Liu Xi's son	195–154	Revolted during Emperor Jing's reign
3 Huainan 淮南	Liu Chang 劉長	Emperor Gaozu's son	196–174	Revolted during Emperor Wen's reign
4 Changsha 長沙	Wu Chan 吳產 (also given as Wu Zhu 吳著, Wu Cha 吳差, or Wu Qiang 吳羌)	King of Changsha, Wu Ruo's son	178–157	Died without heir
5 Qi 齊	Liu Ze 劉則	King of Qi, Liu Xiang's son	178–165	Died without heir
6 Chengyang 城陽	Liu Zhang 劉章	King of Qi, Liu Fei's son	178–177	Died with heir
7 Jibei 濟北	Liu Xingju 劉興居	King of Qi, Liu Fei's son	178–178	Revolted
8 Dai 代	Liu Wu 劉武	Emperor Wen's son	178–177	Transferred to Huaiyang (r. 176–169); transferred to Liang (r. 168–144); died with heir
9 Taiyuan 太原	Liu Can 劉參	Emperor Wen's son	178–176	Transferred to Dai (r. 176–162); died with heir
10 Zhao 趙	Liu Sui 劉遂	King of Zhao, Liu You's son	179–154	Killed in the Seven Kingdoms Revolt
11 Hejian 河間	Liu Biqiang 劉辟強	King of Zhao, Liu You's son	178–166	Died with heir
12 Yan 燕	Liu Ze 劉澤	Distant relative of the imperial family	179–178	Transferred from Langya (r. 181–179); died with heir
13 Liang 梁	Liu Yi 劉揖	Emperor Wen's son	178–169	Died without heir

emperor's temple name, the Temple of Observing Success (*Gucheng miao* 顧成廟), which Jia Yi explained as follows:

[The *Rites* states], “A founding ancestor has (military) achievement (*gong* 功), while a lineage head has benevolent power (*de* 德).” In the beginning, he who first captures all-under-heaven is said to have (military) achievement; he who begins the governance of all-under-heaven has benevolent power. Therefore, the Temple of Observing Success is for the great lineage head, who received the empire from the great founding ancestor, and ensures that the Han will be long-lasting, without end.

祖有功，宗有德，始取天下為功，始治天下為德，因顧成之廟，為天下太宗，承天下太祖，與漢長無極耳。⁷⁵

Jia argues that whereas Emperor Gaozu excelled militarily, Emperor Wen would be the civil leader, carrying to fruition the seeds of the founder's great enterprise by reforming the empire's administration and unifying the clan. His temple would commemorate the fact that while Emperor Gaozu had won the empire, Emperor Wen would lead the clan, thus completing the task of founding the dynasty.

The policies of Emperor Wen just outlined indicate that the emperor may have been strongly influenced by his trusted adviser, Jia Yi, who in several memorials argued that the kings played a critical political role in preserving the clan and thus the empire. In one memorial, for example, Jia referred to the kings as one of four critical groups that would ensure the dynasty's survival:

Therefore, his servants who are uncles and brothers will loyally die for the ancestral temple. His servants who are in charge of standards and laws will loyally die for the altars of the soil. His servants who are his ministers will loyally die for their lord, the sovereign. His ministers who guard and defend against enemies will loyally die for [their ruler's] walled territory.

故父兄之臣誠死宗廟，法度之臣誠死社稷，輔翼之臣誠死君上，守衛捍敵之臣誠死城郭封境。⁷⁶

In this passage, Jia Yi argues that, ideally, the government would contain four branches that secured one another. Two branches were utilized early on by the Qin—the legal officials and the military officials. In addition, however, Jia argues that the state requires imperial advisers, to support the emperor and his policy decisions, and imperial relatives, to protect the ruling family from coups, revolts, and plots.

In another memorial, Jia Yi also argued for the necessity of kings, by raising the subject of the kings' role in enhancing the emperor's status:

If the Son of Heaven is likened to a hall, his servants to its steps, and the common people to its ground, this is a metaphor (for his respect). Hence, if it is positioned atop nine stairs and the walls of the hall are far from the ground, then the hall is lofty. If it lacks stairs and the walls are near to the ground, then the hall is lowly. High

heights are hard to climb and low heights are easy to mount, their properties and circumstances make them thus. Therefore, in antiquity, sage kings instituted ordered ranks. Within [the court], they had dukes, high officers, grandes, and the clerisy; outside [the court], they had dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, and barons, and then officers and minor officials, extending to the common people. All of the ranks were clearly separated, and because the Son of Heaven was on top of all of this, his reverence was beyond reach.

天子如堂，群臣如陛，眾庶如地，此其辟也。故陛九級上，廉遠地則堂高，陛亡級，廉近地則堂卑。高者難攀，卑者易陵，理勢然也。故古者聖王制為列等，內有公卿大夫士，外有公侯伯子男，然後有官師小吏，施及庶人，等級分明，而天子加焉，故其尊不可及也。⁷⁷

According to Jia Yi, one way the emperor inculcated popular acceptance of his ruling authority was through the ordering of noble ranks. Ranked nobles positioned below the emperor enhanced his esteem; it protected his position and created a hierarchical ladder that impeded rivals who sought to move quickly and forcefully into top positions. Without an ordered nobility, the emperor was an unprotected hall built too close to the ground.

Emperor Wen's Dividing the Kingdoms in Order to Redistribute Power

If Emperor Wen believed in the institution of the kings and supported the clan, then why is it often believed that he was a proponent of centralization? Those who argue this way often do so based on the fact that at two points during his reign, Emperor Wen divided several of the larger kingdoms, increasing the total number of kings. In this section, however, I will suggest that despite these divisions, Emperor Wen's goal was not to centralize the empire and to take back territory from the kings, as his son Emperor Jing and his grandson Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 141–87 BCE) would do. Instead, he aimed to stabilize the system of rule by kings using a strategy articulated by his minister, Jia Yi.

Early in Emperor Wen's reign, his adviser, Jia Yi, presented several memorials which contended that the circumstances of the kings—particularly, the size of their lands and the number of households in their territories—directly determined their loyalty to the throne. Referring to the early general-kings as

an example, Jia argued that the strongest kings rebelled immediately, whereas the much weaker king of Changsha, whose kingdom comprised only twenty-five thousand households, did not revolt. Jia contended that the reason that the king of Changsha did not revolt was certainly “not because by nature he was different from the others, but rather due to his circumstances.”⁷⁸

In Jia’s view, to stabilize the system of rule by kings, Emperor Wen needed to “create more kingships in order to lessen the kings’ power.”⁷⁹ In the kingdoms of Qi, Chu, Zhao, Yan, Wu, and Huainan, Jia recommended immediately dividing the kings’ territories to give kingships to all of the kings’ sons. This way, he contended, “those above and below will feel mutual esteem and affection, and the kings will be submissive and attach themselves to [your Majesty], and thereupon, all under heaven will know of your Majesty’s kindness.”⁸⁰

Based on his appointments, Emperor Wen was convinced by Jia Yi’s idea that the only way to preserve the kings’ power for the long term would be to limit the kings’ power overall. Nonetheless, as I will argue, this does not mean, as others have contended, that Emperor Wen aimed at centralization. To the contrary, if we examine Emperor Wen’s appointments in greater detail, we can observe three aspects of his policies toward the kings that distinguish them from those of his son in particular.

First, although the emperor did begin to reduce the size of large kingdoms early in his reign, he always did so in a way that maintained positive relations with the kingdoms. He did not, for example, follow Jia Yi’s advice to immediately divide the kingdoms but instead waited until an appropriate time, such as the death of a king, to do so. Such an opportunity occurred in 178 BCE, for example, when King Ai 哀 of Qi (Liu Xiang 劉襄, r. 188–179) died and court officials recommended that the emperor’s three sons (excluding his heir) be made kings. Thereupon, Emperor Wen announced that he would create three new kingships in the provinces to reward his family members who had distinguished themselves in unseating the Lü clan, which would parallel the appointment of his three sons.⁸¹

At that time, he made the brothers, Liu Zhang 劉章 and Liu Xingju 劉興居, kings of Chengyang 城陽 and Jibei 濟北, utilizing territories removed from Qi, the kingdom originally bestowed on their late father. They had previously been promised territory for their role in unseating the Lü clan, but had yet to be rewarded.⁸² Removing territory from Zhao, the emperor presented Liu Biqiang 劉辟彊 with the kingship of Hejian 河間. Previously, during Emperor Hui’s reign, Liu Biqiang’s father, King You

幽 of Zhao, had died of starvation after Empress Dowager Lü placed him in confinement for neglecting his wife, her daughter, whom she had forced the king to marry. Emperor Wen declared that out of his “extreme pity” for his brother, King You, he had made both of his brother’s sons kings. (King You’s first son, Liu Sui 遂 [r. 179–154 BCE], had already been positioned as king of Zhao in the first year of Emperor Wen’s reign.)⁸³

For his own sons, Emperor Wen found territory without depriving existing kings of land. He used his former kingdom of Dai for two of his sons, dividing the kingdom in two and appointing Liu Wu 劉武 as king of Dai and Liu Can 劉參 as king of Taiyuan 太原.⁸⁴ Additionally, he positioned his youngest, favorite, third son, Liu Yi 劉揖, in Liang, which had been vacant since the removal of the Lü clan.

A second way Emperor Wen’s relationship with the kings differed from that of later emperors is that the two revolts that did occur during his reign were not provoked by the emperor. On the contrary, the emperor cared deeply about maintaining relationships with his family members. These revolts occurred because of issues outside of the emperor’s control—namely, circumstances related to the succession. The king of Jibei (Liu Xingju) revolted in 177 BCE because he was unhappy with the size of the kingdom awarded to him by the emperor. Before Emperor Wen took the throne, ministers at court had promised him the kingdom of Liang for his role in unseating the Lü clan. In the end, however, Emperor Wen could not give him that territory because it had since been discovered that Liu Xingju had aided his brother, King Ai of Qi, in his revolt and bid for the emperorship.⁸⁵ Similarly, the king of Huainan, Liu Chang (r. 196–174 BCE), revolted in 174 after being unable to accept that his half-brother, Emperor Wen, had been made emperor (and not himself). He took advantage of his position as the only other surviving son of Emperor Gaozu, treating his brother, Emperor Wen, as a peer, and disregarding the laws of the empire.⁸⁶

The details of these revolts are not important here (they have been covered in numerous narratives of Han history). What is important is that in both cases, after quickly quelling a revolt, Emperor Wen extended benefits to the Liu family so as to promote good relations. Following the king of Jibei’s revolt, for example, the emperor exempted all registered members of the Liu clan from taxes and bestowed the tax income of a two-thousand-household city on the sons of the kings.⁸⁷ Following the king of Huainan’s revolt, he made all four of the former king’s sons marquises, despite the criticism of Jia Yi and others.⁸⁸ Later on, as will be discussed,

the emperor still felt responsible for his brother's death and appointed the king of Huainan's sons as kings.⁸⁹

A third way Emperor Wen differed from Emperor Jing, his son, was that he did not try to grab land for himself when kings died without an heir or revolts occurred. Instead, seeing the utility of the kingdoms in the empire, the emperor often chose to reestablish large kingdoms in critical areas when he could have chosen to retain those territories under centralized control. In 169 BCE, for example, after the two revolts just mentioned and after his favorite son, Liu Yi, died without an heir, three kingdoms were left without kings: Jibei, Huainan, and Liang. Since the emperor had only two remaining sons, and they both had positions, the emperor could have chosen to retain these three kingdoms as directly managed commanderies. However, Jia Yi advised the emperor that a king needed to be reinstated in Huainan to prevent the people of that region from fleeing to other kingdoms (see the earlier discussion). Jia also recommended that the emperor move his son from Dai to Liang so that he could protect the capital from the eastern and southern kings like a "screen" (*fan han* 蕃扞).⁹⁰ The emperor heeded Jia's advice, but not exactly. As was typical, he opted for a solution that would be more agreeable to his family. He moved the king of Chengyang, Liu Xi 劉喜, to Huainan and his son Liu Wu from the small kingdom of Huaiyang to Liang.⁹¹ Although this still left the three kingdoms of Jibei, Chengyang, and Huaiyang to be managed by the central administration, the changes moved kings out of smaller kingdoms into larger ones, so that family members, in effect, could be administrators of the relatively more critical territories (table 1.5).

When Emperor Wen did leave kingdoms vacant during his reign, he did so only because he could not yet reinstate kings in those areas. This can be observed in the installments he made in 165 BCE, after two more kings—King Wen 文 of Qi (Liu Ze 劉則, r. 178–165 BCE) and King Ai 哀 of Hejian (Liu Fu 劉福, r. 165–165 BCE)—died without heirs. In Qi, Emperor Wen was able to resolve the succession by dividing Qi among the remaining sons of King Daohui 悼惠 (Liu Fei, the first king of Qi, r. 201–189 BCE), creating seven kingships: Qi, Jibei, Jinan 濟南, Zichuan 蘇川, Jiaoxi 膠西, Jiaodong 膠東, and Chengyang.⁹² (He moved the king of Huainan back to Qi because he was also a son of King Daohui.) This solution pleased those who received kingships and also lessened the power of the Qi kingdom, in accordance with the ideas of Jia Yi. However, because this solution left the important kingdom of Huainan vacant, he divided the kingdom of Huainan into three, placing the three surviving sons of his brother Liu Chang, king of Huainan, on the throne.⁹³

TABLE 1.5

Kings and kingdoms at the end of Emperor Wen's reign in 157 BCE

Kingdom	King	Relationship	Reign dates (BCE)	Reason for loss of kingship
1 Chu 楚	Liu Wu 劉戊	King of Chu, Liu Yingke's son	174–154	Committed suicide after the Seven Kingdoms Revolt
2 Wu 吳	Liu Pi 劉濞	King of Dai, Liu Xi's son	195–154	Killed in the Seven Kingdoms Revolt
3 Huainan 淮南	Liu An 劉安	King of Huainan, Liu Chang's son	164–122	Accused of plotting revolt during Emperor Wu's reign and committed suicide
4 Hengshan 衡山	Liu Bo 劉勃	King of Huainan, Liu Chang's son	164–153	Transferred to Jibei (r. 153–152); died with heir
5 Lujiang 廬江	Liu Ci 劉賜	King of Huainan, Liu Chang's son	164–153	Transferred to Hengshan (r. 153–122); revolted during Emperor Wu's reign and committed suicide
6 Changsha 長沙	Wu Chan 吳產 (also given as Wu Zhu 吳著, Wu Cha 吳差, or Wu Qiang 吳羌)	King of Changsha, Wu Ruo's son	178–157	Died without heir
7 Qi 齊	Liu Jianglü 劉將闊	King of Qi, Liu Fei's son	164–154	Committed suicide after the Seven Kingdoms Revolt
8 Chengyang 城陽	Liu Xi 劉喜	King of Chengyang, Liu Zhang's son	163–144	Previously king of Chengyang (r. 176–169) and Huainan (r. 168–164); died with heir
9 Jibei 濟北	Liu Zhi 劉志	King of Qi, Liu Fei's son	164–154	Transferred to Zichuan (r. 154–130); died with heir
10 Jinan 濟南	Liu Biguang 劉辟光	King of Qi, Liu Fei's son	164–154	Killed in the Seven Kingdoms Revolt
11 Zichuan 蕤川	Liu Xian 劉賢	King of Qi, Liu Fei's son	164–154	Killed in the Seven Kingdoms Revolt
12 Jiaoxi 膠西	Liu Ang 劉卬	King of Qi, Liu Fei's son	164–154	Killed in the Seven Kingdoms Revolt
13 Jiaodong 膠東	Liu Xiongqu 劉雄渠	King of Qi, Liu Fei's son	164–154	Killed in the Seven Kingdoms Revolt
14 Zhao 趙	Liu Sui 劉遂	King of Zhao, Liu You's son	179–154	Killed in the Seven Kingdoms Revolt
15 Dai 代	Liu Deng 劉登	King of Dai, Liu Can's son	161–133	Died with heir
16 Yan 燕	Liu Jia 劉嘉	King of Yan, Liu Ze's son	177–152	Died with heir
17 Liang 梁	Liu Wu 劉武	Emperor Wen's son	168–144	Previously king of Dai (r. 178–177) and Huaiyang (r. 176–169); died with heir

In contrast to the situation in Huainan and Qi, Emperor Wen did not reinstate a king in Hejian. It could not be done there because Liu Biqiang, the first king of the newly created kingdom, had died without sons. Accordingly, Emperor Wen converted Hejian into a directly administered commandery.⁹⁴ A delay also occurred after the death of Wu Chan 吳產, King Jing 靖 of Changsha (r. 178–157), the only remaining king who was not of the Liu family and who passed away in 157 without an heir.⁹⁵ Wu died in the same year as Emperor Wen, and thus a king would not be reinstated in Changsha until Emperor Jing took the throne.

In conclusion, Emperor Wen's reign represented a long period of relative peace between the imperial court and the kings; the emperor's policies and his strategic positioning showed his benevolence to the kings and aided good relations within the imperial clan, which in fact did stabilize. Emperor Wen increased the total number of kingdoms based on the advice of Jia Yi, and this was done in such a way that the total territory controlled by the kingdoms did not severely decline during his reign. Whereas the kings controlled thirty-six provinces at the beginning of the Han, they controlled thirty-four by the end of Emperor Wen's reign (figure 1.2).⁹⁶ Those kingdoms left vacant remained that way not because Emperor Wen wanted to manage them directly, but because he had no remaining sons, brothers, or nephews to position in those regions. Because of the positive relations between the kings and the imperial court under Emperor Wen, this period is often referred to as a period of peace during which many kingdoms prospered. Moreover, as we will see in the following chapters, the arts flourished in this relatively positive economic and political environment.

THE SEVEN KINGDOMS REVOLT AND THE DECLINE OF THE MULTICENTERED ADMINISTRATION UNDER EMPEROR JING

The reigns of Emperor Wen and his son, Emperor Jing (r. 157–141 BCE), are often conflated and referred to as a single era—the Wen-Jing era. This period has been characterized as a time when the emperors, following the advice of the modernist statesmen, Jia Yi and Chao Cuo 翁錯 (d. 154 BCE), reduced the power of the kings and moved toward centralization. In part, my discussion is intended to correct such a narrative and to suggest that although both emperors increased the total number of kingdoms, in their relationship with the kings, the two rulers had nearly opposite ruling strategies. Whereas Emperor Wen supported the institution of kings and sought



FIGURE 1.2 Map of the seventeen kingdoms of the Han empire in 157 BCE, the final year of Emperor Wen's reign. Redrawn by Gary Wang and the author after Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han zhengqu dili*, 13, map 3.

to maintain their territory where possible, Emperor Jing set his sights on reclaiming territory from the kings for the central government and reversed many of the policies set in place by his father. We will explore the differences between Emperor Jing's reign and that of his father by focusing first on incidents that occurred during the time that the emperor was a prince, as well as his early appointments, and then turning to his provocation of the kings

of the Seven Kingdoms (Wu, Chu and Zhao, Jiaoxi, Jiaodong, Jinan, and Zichuan) to revolt in 154 BCE. The emperor, I argue, provoked the revolt based on the advice of his minister Chao Cuo in order to quickly reduce the kings' territories and to significantly dampen their wealth and political power. Furthermore, I will argue that, although Emperor Jing ultimately would execute Chao in hopes of averting bloodshed, he never wavered from his goal of centralizing the empire. Following the revolt, nearly all kingdoms—whether or not they participated in the revolt—suffered reductions in their territory as the emperor avariciously and strategically retracted choice territories for himself. In contrast to his father, who always sought to preserve his personal relationship with the kings, Emperor Jing paid no heed to his relationship with his relatives, establishing a new pattern of relations between the court and the provinces that would persist in the years that followed.

Emperor Jing's Childhood and Early Reign Before the Revolt of 154 BCE

The histories describe Emperor Jing's tensions with the kingdoms as having begun prior to his accession. When Emperor Jing was still the young prince Liu Qi 劉啟, he was described as quite unlike his father—willful, impulsive, and hot-tempered, excelling at archery and carriage driving, and without any desire to study the classics.⁹⁷ On two occasions, his temperament caused severe problems for Emperor Wen. In one case, Liu Qi refused to dismount his carriage at the Gate of the Marshals as he rode in with his brother—a serious security issue. To make amends, Emperor Wen had to formally apologize to the palace prefect, whose official purview had been violated in the incident.⁹⁸ In a far more serious episode, Emperor Jing killed the heir to the kingdom of Wu by striking him with a *liubo* 六博 gameboard during an argument over the match.⁹⁹ This would lead to long-term tensions between the imperial court and the kingdom of Wu, which Emperor Wen placated by allowing the Wu king not to attend imperial court audiences.

Because of his son's willful temperament, Emperor Wen had strong concerns about passing the empire to him. Early in his reign, he unsuccessfully requested that the worthiest among all the kings be made his successor, rather than his son.¹⁰⁰ Ultimately, after Liu Qi was made heir, Jia Yi comforted Emperor Wen by describing how Jia might help to build an administration so solid that “even though you have a stupid child, an heir unlike his father, [the young ruler] would still attain [his] legacy and there would be peace” (後雖有愚幼不肖之嗣，猶得蒙業而安).¹⁰¹ In the end, however,

TABLE 1.6

Sons of Emperor Jing by empress/consort

Empress Wang 王皇后	Consort Li 栗姬	Consort Cheng 程姬	Lady Jia 賈夫人	Consort Tang 唐姬	Lady Wang 王夫人
Liu Che 徹 (king of Jiaodong/ Emperor Wu)	Liu Rong 劉榮 (Demoted as heir apparent in 150 and made king of Linjiang)	Liu Yu 劉 餘 (king of Huaiyang/Lu)	Liu Pengzu 劉 彭祖 (king of Zhao/ Guangchuan)	Liu Fa 劉發 (king of Changsha)	Liu Ji 劉寄 (king of Jiaodong)
	Liu De 劉德 (king of Hejian)	Liu Fei 劉非 (king of Runan/ Jiangdu)	Liu Sheng 劉勝 (king of Zhongshan)		Liu Yue 劉越 (king of Guangchuan)
	Liu E 劉闕 (king of Linjiang)	Liu Duan 劉端 (king of Jiaoxi)			Liu Cheng 劉乘 (king of Qinghe)
					Liu Shun 劉舜 (king of Changshan)

Emperor Wen's fears were not groundless. As we will discuss in the following section, within three years of Emperor Jing's succession to the throne, a major revolt would occur that reversed many of the efforts made by the former emperor.

At the beginning of his reign, Emperor Jing faced a far more difficult situation with regard to his sons than his father had faced (table 1.6). When he took the throne at thirty-one, Emperor Jing had thirteen sons to place into kingships, excluding his heir. His father, by comparison, only had three.¹⁰² In 155, two years after he took the throne, Emperor Jing appointed six of his sons to kingships. To constitute their territories, he reinstated the kingdoms of Huaiyang, Hejian, and Changsha, which had been administered as commanderies since the end of Emperor Wen's reign because, as discussed previously, Emperor Wen did not have sufficient heirs to position there.¹⁰³

Yet the manner in which Emperor Jing calculated the layout of his sons' territories in the appointments made in 155 BCE differed from the way his father had done so. The new kingdoms he created were much smaller than those created by his father; they were typically one province (*jun*) or even just a few counties (*xian* 縣) in size. The tiny kingdom of Huaiyang, for example, was divided into two kingdoms, Huaiyang and Runan 汝南, and given to his sons Liu Yu 劉餘 (r. 155–154) and Liu Fei 劉非 (r. 155–153 BCE).¹⁰⁴

The emperor also refused to relinquish borderlands and seacoasts from imperial control. Thus, when he divided the old kingdom of Hejian into

three parts, he retained Bohai 渤海, the coastal province, as a commandery, and turned the other two provinces into the kingdom of Hejian and the kingdom of Guangchuan, which he gave to his sons Liu De 劉德 (r. 155–130 BCE) and Liu Pengzu 劉彭祖 (r. 155–152 BCE).¹⁰⁵ Similarly, when he enthroned his son Liu Fa 劉發 (r. 155–129 BCE) in Changsha 長沙, he did not give his son the entire kingdom but retained the border provinces of Guiyang 桂陽 and Wuling 武陵 as directly managed commanderies.¹⁰⁶ These strategies are early harbingers of the types of strategies the emperor would adopt following the Seven Kingdoms Revolt of 154 BCE.

The Seven Kingdoms Revolt of 154 BCE

Despite Emperor Jing's skillful maneuvering, quite a few of his sons still remained without positions as kings. To address this, the emperor might have chosen to wait until one of the kings died without an heir and then gradually positioned another son, as his father had done.¹⁰⁷ With broader aims in mind, Emperor Jing instead chose a plan of immediate action suggested by his chief prosecutor 夫 Chao Cuo. The plan vaguely echoed the approach utilized by his grandfather, Liu Bang: he decided to drive the kings to rebellion as a means of reclaiming their lands and so instate more of the emperor's sons. Chao had convinced the emperor that kings like the king of Wu (whose son Emperor Jing had murdered) would revolt anyway. He contended:

Now whether you reduce his territory or not, he is bound to revolt. If you take away part of his territory, the revolt will come quickly and its effect will be slight. But if you do not reduce his territory, then the revolt will be delayed until later and will be a much more serious affair!¹⁰⁸

If the imperial court moved forward with the reduction, and so caused the king to revolt, then the king would not have time to prepare, and his territory might easily be reclaimed.

Chao's idea about the king of Wu being "bound to revolt" is not supported by the historical record. Certainly, bitterness had ensued between Wu and the imperial throne because of Emperor Jing's having murdered Liu Pi's son and heir. The histories indicate that previously, after that death, the king had planned to revolt. However, Emperor Wen had successfully ameliorated the situation by pardoning the Wu king when he refused to attend court and

allowing him to go home with an armrest and cane (implying that he would be exempt from future court visits as well on account of his old age.) The histories record that after these measures, the king “bit by bit relaxed his plans to take drastic action.”¹⁰⁹

Chao’s ideas were enacted in full force in 155, on the occasion of the king of Chu’s regular audience with the emperor. At this time, Chao Cuo accused this king of violating certain mourning codes concerning the Empress Dowager’s recent death. He recommended that one-third of the king’s territory (the province of Donghai 東海) be removed.¹¹⁰ At the same time, he also made accusations against the king of Wu, recommending the removal of two out of three territories in his kingdom—Yuzhang 豫章, the location of the king’s copper source, which supplied his coin-minting business, and Kuaiji 會稽, which housed his coastal salt-mining industry.¹¹¹ In the previous year, Chao had made accusations against the king of Zhao and removed from his territory the province of Changshan 常山.¹¹² The king of Jiaoxi had also been penalized with the removal of six counties from his kingdom for selling noble titles.¹¹³ Emperor Jing’s decision to apply penalties to these kings directly contrasts with his father’s policies, for even after the king of Huainan murdered a court official, Emperor Wen had refused to reduce his territory.¹¹⁴

Despite losing significant portions of territory, only one king, Liu Pi, the king of Wu, made plans to revolt. In fact, when the king of Wu sent a letter proposing revolt to the king of Jiaoxi, who had also lost six counties in his small kingdom and was “fond of warfare,” the latter responded with shock, saying “How would I dare to do such a thing? . . . No matter how the emperor may afflict me, I have no choice but to die! What can I do but be loyal to him?”¹¹⁵ The king only agreed to join the revolt after the king of Wu’s minister, Ying Gao 應高, convinced him that the situation in the empire had reached a crisis point. Chao Cuo, Ying claimed, had “forced loyal ministers into the shade,” “stifled the counsels of worthy men,” and “seized the lands of the kings.”¹¹⁶ In response to those actions, he claimed that Heaven indicated that the present emperor had lost his mandate to rule; a comet had appeared in the sky and locusts had swarmed over the land. Because the kings of Wu and Jiaoxi, Ying claimed, were “worthy sages,” Heaven would pave a path for their success: “Whoever we confront will surrender, whoever we point our fingers at will submit, and throughout the world there will be none who dare to resist.”¹¹⁷

After Jiaoxi agreed to join Wu in revolt, the two kings sent envoys to Chu and Zhao, the other kingdoms that had been deprived of territory by Chao Cuo. Seven kingdoms officially revolted: Wu, Chu and Zhao, Jiaoxi,

Jiaodong, Jinan, and Zichuan. Other kings, however, were also involved. The king of Yan, for example, purportedly plotted with Zhao to join forces with the Xiongnu 匈奴 and attack the capital; however, he likely did not follow through on this plan as he did not commit suicide after the revolt and is not counted among the seven.¹¹⁸ The kings of Huainan and Jibei also tried to join the revolt, but were blocked by their chief ministers.¹¹⁹ The king of Qi, when approached by his brothers, hesitated and finally decided not to join. However, after he was besieged by his brothers, the histories indicate that he began negotiations to possibly join the revolt.¹²⁰ Finally, two sons of the former king of Changsha (Wu Chan 吳產, r. 178–157 BCE) by other consorts also joined the revolt; they had been made marquises but had not been permitted to inherit the throne.¹²¹

The emperor, upon receiving a letter announcing the revolt by the king of Wu, requested an audience with Yuan Ang 袁盎 (d. ca. 150 BCE), an official who had also served his father. Yuan convinced the emperor that the kings were revolting because the traitorous official Chao Cuo was wrongfully seizing lands allotted to them by Emperor Gaozu. Yuan argued that if the emperor executed Chao Cuo, pardoned the kings, and restored the kings' land, bloodshed could be averted.¹²² Following Yuan's advice, the emperor executed Chao. Unfortunately, at the time Chao was executed, the kings had already begun their revolt. The king of Wu had already joined his army with that of Chu and was attacking the kingdom of Liang, as he moved toward the capital. Certain they would be punished for their actions, the kings had no choice but to proceed. The revolt was quelled quickly. Subsequently, all of the participating kings committed suicide.

The Impact of the Seven Kingdoms Revolt and Emperor Jing's Own Strategy for Instating Kings

By executing Chao Cuo, Emperor Jing attempted to remove all blame from himself and place it upon his minister. Yet the policies he enacted following the revolt went beyond punishing the rebel kings; in fact, they indicate that the emperor had always maintained a political strategy that envisioned a rapid centralization of the empire's administration.

As mentioned previously, Emperor Jing pursued three main goals during his reign. First, he strove to reduce all of the empire's kingdoms to a single province-size territory or less.¹²³ Indeed, in the postrebellion period, he

reduced the majority of the empire's large kingdoms, regardless of whether or not they had participated in the revolt (figure 1.3).

The changes he enacted in the empire's northern kingdoms (Yan, Dai, Zhao, Hejian, and Guangchuan) illustrate how this occurred. Of those five kingdoms, only Zhao had officially participated. Zhao accordingly was divided into four kingdoms (Zhongshan 中山, Zhao, Changshan, and Qinghe 清河) and two commanderies (Wei 魏 and Julu 巨鹿).¹²⁴ The non-participating kingdoms also suffered dramatic reductions. Yan was reduced to the single interior province of Guangyang, while the majority of the kingdom's territory, which bordered the Xiongnu, was turned into five directly managed commanderies (Shanggu 上谷, Yuyang 漁陽, You Beiping 右北平, Liaoxi 遼西, and Liaodong 遼東).¹²⁵ Similarly, from Dai the emperor extracted most of the king's land, leaving him with only the territory of Taiyuan, even though the king remained loyal during the revolt.¹²⁶ Hejian had already been divided in 155 into the kingdoms of Hejian, Guangchuan, (and the commandery of Bohai); it was left unchanged.

The reductions just described illustrate the second goal of Emperor Jing's reign: he strove to remove the kings from the imperial border areas. During the revolt, several kings had partnered with the empire's enemies, proving to the emperor that he needed to create new buffer zones between the kingdoms and foreign powers.¹²⁷ For this reason, as just discussed, the empire's entire northern border was reclaimed by the court.

Similar changes were made in the south. Prior to the revolt, Emperor Jing had removed two border provinces from Changsha to gain direct access to the southern border there. (In doing so, he also turned Changsha into a single-province-size kingdom.) Continuing this policy after the war, the emperor turned Lujiang 廬江, a border kingdom, into a commandery and moved its king to Hengshan 衡山. The reigning king of Hengshan was moved to Jibei, purportedly as a reward for his loyalty during the revolt.¹²⁸ Together with Wu's Kuaiji and Yuzhang provinces, which had been subtracted before the war, the emperor by 153 BCE controlled the entire southern border.

Finally, a third goal of Emperor Jing's reign was to take control of seacoasts and other wealthy regions and to intersperse commanderies with the kingdoms so that each kingdom bordered a directly administered commandery on at least one or two sides. For example, the emperor made crucial changes in the old kingdom of Qi and in the empire's middle regions. In the former territory of Qi, four kings—Jiaoxi, Jiaodong, Jinan, and Zichuan—participated in the revolt. Of the four, only the small kingdom of Zichuan



FIGURE 1.3 Map of the twenty-five kingdoms of the Han empire in 144 BCE, during the reign of Emperor Jing. Redrawn by Gary Wang and the author after Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han zhengqu dili*, 15, map 5.

retained its territory (but received a new king).¹²⁹ From Jiaoxi, Jiaodong, and Jibei, the coastal provinces of Beihai 北海, Donglai 東萊, and Pingyuan 平原 were subtracted and retained by the capital.¹³⁰ Meanwhile, the entire kingdom of Jinan, positioned right in the center of the former kingdom of Qi, was turned into a directly managed commandery, enabling the emperor to increase direct imperial control over the region.¹³¹

In the middle part of the country, Emperor Jing also created a horizontal line of directly administered commanderies that extended all of the way to the coast and divided Chu and Liang from Huainan and Hengshan. To accomplish this, he reduced Chu to less than two-thirds of its former size at the end of Emperor Wen's reign, removing Xue 薛 and the southern half of Pei 沛 province (to form Pei commandery). (Previously, Donghai commandery was removed from Chu prior to the revolt).¹³² He also turned the former kingdoms of Huaiyang and Runan into commanderies, moving the kings of those kingdoms to Lu 魯 (a kingdom created from Xue province) and Jiangdu 江都 (the former kingdom of Wu without Kuaiji and Yuzhang provinces), even though the kings had not participated in the revolt.¹³³

Following these changes, we see something like a new layout of empire, as created by Emperor Jing. The kings' territories were now dramatically reduced. Kings who had formerly ruled vast tracts of five or six provinces now controlled a kingdom of one province or even, in the case of Qi-area kingdoms, a small collection of counties (table 1.7).¹³⁴ Only one major kingdom remained untouched following the revolt: the kingdom of Liang, which belonged to a brother of Emperor Jing—Liu Wu. Liang's forces bore the brunt of Wu and Chu's attack during the revolt, and the histories indicate that “in the number of enemy killed and prisoners taken, the Liang armies had achieved virtually as much as the forces of the Han government.”¹³⁵ Following the revolt, the Liang king's wealth and status grew, in part because of his mother Empress Dowager Dou's largesse. For example, he was given imperial flags and pennants and purportedly “went on hunting expeditions to the east and west in the manner of an emperor.”¹³⁶ His imperial coffers contained “close to 100,000,000 in gold and cash, and more jewels and precious objects than the capital itself.”¹³⁷ When the king of Liang died, in 144 BCE, however, even his kingdom was divided among his sons.¹³⁸

Looking back on the manipulations and political strategies involved in installing and positioning kings during Emperor Jing's reign, we observe several major changes. First, Emperor Jing dramatically changed the amount of territory controlled by the imperial court. At the end of Emperor Wen's reign, the court controlled 41.4 percent of the provinces (*jun*) of the empire (twenty-four out of fifty-eight).¹³⁹ By the end of Emperor Jing's reign, the imperial court directly administered 62.9 percent of the empire's provinces (*jun*) (forty-four out of seventy).¹⁴⁰ The kings' losses were heightened by the fact that the imperial court deliberately deducted many of the kings' most

TABLE 1.7

Kings and kingdoms during the later reign of Emperor Jing in 143 BCE

Kingdom	King	Relationship	Reign dates (BCE)	Previous kingship
1 Hejian 河間	Liu De 劉德	Emperor Jing's son	155–130	
2 Jiangdu 江都	Liu Fei 劉非	Emperor Jing's son	153–128	Transferred from Runan (r. 155–153)
3 Lu 魯	Liu Yu 劉餘	Emperor Jing's son	154–129	Transferred from Huaiyang (r. 155–154)
4 Jiaoxi 膠西	Liu Duan 劉端	Emperor Jing's son	154–108	
5 Zhao 趙	Liu Pengzu 劉彭祖	Emperor Jing's son	152–93	Transferred from Guangchuan (r. 155–152)
6 Zhongshan 中山	Liu Sheng 劉勝	Emperor Jing's son	154–113	
7 Changsha 長沙	Liu Fa 劉發	Emperor Jing's son	155–129	
8 Guangchuan 廣川	Liu Yue 劉越	Emperor Jing's son	148–137	
9 Jiaodong 膠東	Liu Ji 劉寄	Emperor Jing's son	148–121	
10 Qinghe 清河	Liu Cheng 劉乘	Emperor Jing's son	147–136	
11 Changshan 常山	Liu Shun 劉舜	Emperor Jing's son	145–114	
12 Chu 楚	Liu Dao 劉道	King of Chu, Liu Li's son	150–129	
13 Huainan 淮南	Liu An 劉安	King of Huainan, Liu Chang's son	164–122	
14 Hengshan 衡山	Liu Ci 劉賜	King of Huainan, Liu Chang's son	153–122	Transferred from Lujiang (r. 164–153)
15 Qi 齊	Liu Shou 劉壽	King of Qi, Liu Jianglü's son	153–132	
16 Jibei 濟北	Liu Hu 劉胡	King of Jibei, Liu Bo's son	152–96	
17 Zichuan 蕃川	Liu Zhi 劉志	King of Qi, Liu Fei's son	154–130	Transferred from Jibei (r. 164–154)
18 Chengyang 城陽	Liu Yan 劉延	King of Chengyang, Liu Xi's son	143–118	
19 Dai 代	Liu Deng 劉登	King of Dai, Liu Can's son	161–133	
20 Yan 燕	Liu Dingguo 劉定國	King of Yan, Liu Jia's son	151–128	
21 Liang 梁	Liu Mai 劉買	King of Liang, Liu Wu's son	143–137	
22 Jichuan 濟川	Liu Ming 劉明	King of Liang, Liu Wu's son	144–138	
23 Jidong 濟東	Liu Pengli 劉彭離	King of Liang, Liu Wu's son	144–116	
24 Shanyang 山陽	Liu Ding 劉定	King of Liang, Liu Wu's son	144–136	
25 Jiyin 濟陰	Liu Bushi 劉不識	King of Liang, Liu Wu's son	144–143	

profitable territories. According to the *Shiji*, “important mountains, lakes, and seacoasts” (支郡名山陂海) were taken from Qi, Zhao, Liang, and Chu by the Han court.¹⁴¹ Since the kings derived their personal income from these resources, this would have weakened them substantially.¹⁴²

Changes in Political Control and Expressions of Status

Following the Seven Kingdoms Revolt, Emperor Jing not only made changes to the size of the kings’ territorial holdings, but also decreed that changes would be made to their administrations and their symbols of status. He also reinstated the former controls on the movement of people and goods. In 145 BCE, Emperor Jing ordered that the kings “no longer be permitted to continue to rule their kingdoms” (不得復治國).¹⁴³ It was basically an attack on the kings’ political authority.

The revolt made clear to Emperor Jing how difficult it was for a few solitary high-level officials to prevent a king from revolting. In Chu, Zhao, and Jiaoxi, the kings had merely had those officials who opposed the revolt executed and then proceeded to mobilize troops. Emperor Jing ordered that the central government would now appoint not only kings’ officials of two-thousand-picul rank and above but also their numerous midlevel officials. Only low-level officials (four hundred piculs and under) could be appointed by the kings themselves.¹⁴⁴ These low-level officials had little actual power.

Thus, after the revolt, the kings lost much of their governing power. Emperor Jing took things further. He acted so as to have the administrations of the kingdoms no longer mirror that of the imperial court. Thus, he eliminated many of the powerful inner-cabinet officials who served the kings. In 147, the post of the second-highest ranked official in the kingdoms, that of chief prosecutor (*yushi dafu* 御史大夫), was eliminated.¹⁴⁵ The emperor also eliminated the administrator of law enforcement (*tingwei* 廷尉), the superintendent of the lesser treasury (*shaofu* 少府), the minister of the imperial clan (*zongzheng* 宗正), and the academicians 博士. The kings also lost personal staff, including grandes (*difu* 大夫) and receptionists (*yezhe* 謁者). The directors and assistant directors of the various bureaus also saw a reduction in their numbers.¹⁴⁶

Moreover, the status of the kings’ highest officer, chief minister, was reduced. Previously, the kings’ chief minister had the title “chief minister” (*chengxiang*) and carried a gold seal. Now, only the imperial chief minister

carried this title; the kings' chief minister was to be called merely "chancellor" (*xiang* 相) and carry a silver seal.¹⁴⁷ Although officials had never viewed employment in the kingdoms as exactly equivalent to the parallel office under the central government, these changes made appointments in the kingdoms even less prestigious.

Emperor Jing also passed laws regulating expressions of status at kings' burials and at the installations of heirs. According to the *Hanshu*, an edict of 148 BCE specified, "When a king dies, the Imperial Household Grandee will be dispatched to mourn, provide the deceased with burial clothes, offer sacrifices, present gifts, oversee the funeral and burial, and install the heir on the throne" (王薨，遣光祿大夫弔襚祠贈，視喪事，因立嗣子).¹⁴⁸ As discussed in detail in chapter 2 of this book, funerals were an important representation of a person's status in early China, and by controlling how kings could represent themselves at their funerals, the imperial court ensured that such ritual gestures and symbols in the provinces would not exceed those utilized by the imperial house.

Accordingly, the capital also placed limits on how many laborers could be used in building tombs and mourning at funerals. The same edict stated, "For their burials, kingdoms are permitted to send out people to draw the hearse, replace the soil, and build a mound. However, no more than three hundred people may be involved" (其（薨）葬，國得發民輓喪，穿復土，治墳無過三百人畢事).¹⁴⁹ In other words, after 148, kings were no longer to be buried in tombs with mounds that required more than three hundred laborers at one time. Their burials and tomb goods would be overseen by an official from the imperial house to ensure that the funeral accorded with imperial law.

Finally, from the Seven Kingdoms Revolt onward, the imperial court reversed Emperor Wen's policy of treating all imperial territories as one unit. In 153 BCE, Emperor Jing reinstated the pass and passport system,¹⁵⁰ and in 146 BCE, he ordered that horses exceeding 5 feet (*chi* 尺), 9 inches (*cun* 寸) in Han dynasty measure (roughly 1.4 meters or 4.5 feet) were no longer permitted to travel through the passes.¹⁵¹

In sum, Emperor Jing's reign engendered a dramatic shift in imperial policy toward the kings. The Seven Kingdoms Revolt was part of a larger scheme by his imperial court to reduce the kings' domains, weaken their administrative power, and shift their territories away from the empire's borders and natural resources. From Emperor Jing's reign onward, this trend in depriving the kings of territory and administrative control would continue.

CONCLUSION

From the reign of Emperor Gaozu to the reign of Emperor Jing, the very title—but more important, the role and function—of king underwent constant evolution. At the beginning of the Han founder’s reign, the kings were semi-independent rulers who had been given territory as a reward for supporting Gaozu’s bid for power. These were the general-kings, also referred to in modern scholarship as “kings with a surname different [from Liu]” (*yixing wang*) to distinguish them from the later crop of Liu kings (and allies of the Lius). The emperor viewed these kings as enemies, and treated them as such, as the emperor strove to unify the empire and rule in a manner similar to that of the First Emperor of Qin.

A second variety of Han king—those installed after the general-kings had been eliminated—were relatives of the emperor. They were instated not because the emperor envisioned a return to an ideal ancient Zhou style of administration, but rather because they were perceived to be loyal and were weak enough that the emperor could remove them at will. Because they were mostly young and inexperienced, these kings relied heavily on court-appointed ministers to rule their kingdoms. Only when these young kings grew up would they pose any sort of serious threat to the throne. Empress Dowager Lü took advantage of this situation, executing young kings and threatening the established kings until they yielded territory to her.

The watershed era for the Han kings occurred during the reign of Emperor Wen, when the importance of the Liu family as protectors of the throne became clear after the power grab by Empress Dowager Lü. Without a strong clan, he and his advisers realized that a stable succession to the throne would never be assured, and other consort families, such as the Lü clan, could attempt to take the throne. During Emperor Wen’s reign, the imperial court adopted a different approach to the kings. He increased the total number of kings so as to make the institution more stable, but at the same time, he maintained their territory and enacted policies designed to improve the kings’ relationship with the imperial court and placate existing tensions. During Emperor Wen’s reign, many of the kingdoms prospered, and much of the art that will be covered in this volume was produced.

This flourishing period, when the imperial court dutifully attempted to stabilize the multicentered system—that is, to establish a working balance between kingdoms and the center—did not last long. Emperor Wen’s son Emperor Jing took an opposite stance toward the kings. Following the

Seven Kingdoms Revolt, kings' territories were dramatically reduced, and the kings were deprived of administrative authority. They were moved away from the empire's borders, their access to foreign lands cut off. From Emperor Jing's reign onward, the kings functioned more as ceremonial heads of their kingdoms, retained primarily to ensure the succession. They were no longer permitted to select their officials, and even their burials were overseen by the imperial court.

Chapter Two

FROM IMITATION TO INNOVATION

The Emperor's Baling Tomb and the Mountain Tombs of the Western Han Kings

During Emperor Wu's 武帝 reign (141–87 BCE), a royal king of Lu 魯, King Gong 恭 (Liu Yu 劉餘, r. 154–129 BCE), talked with a stutter and had a fondness for building sprawling palaces and gardens. In fact, according to the histories, Liu Yu was so given over to luxury that he even went as far as to destroy Confucius's former residence, a historic landmark, in an effort to expand his own palace. As the walls were being demolished to make way for Liu Yu's new building, the legend goes, the sounds of bells, chimes, and zithers suddenly rang out, causing the builders to immediately halt construction. As the builders peered into the half-demolished walls of Confucius's former house, they uncovered the Old Text Classics—Confucian works written prior to the Qin's statewide implementation of a certain calligraphic style and thus also surviving the Qin bibliocaust.¹ From that point forward, King Gong would gain fame as the king who unearthed the Old Text Classics, thus founding the related Old Text tradition of scholarship that became a leading force in literary and exegetical works for centuries.

Our principal interest in King Gong, however, is not for the books he purportedly found, but rather for the expansive tomb he commissioned in the Lu mountainside for his eternal repose (figure 2.1). The king commissioned a cavelike palace tomb in the Nine Dragon Mountains (Jiulongshan 九龍山) with a court in front, a crypt in the back, and numerous side rooms, which his descendants would fill with valuables and seal with heavy limestone blocks.



FIGURE 2.1 Entrance ramp to a rock-cut tomb at Jiulongshan near Qufu, Shandong province, Western Han dynasty (202 BCE–9 CE). Photograph by the author.

Surrounding his tomb were other tombs for four of his relations (whose precise identity remains unknown because of severe tomb looting over the centuries). Later kings would build their tombs in surrounding peaks, rendering this mountainous area near the regional capital the familial burial ground for the Lu kings (figure 2.2).²

King Gong was not the first king to build a rock-cut tomb. To date, more than forty rock-cut tombs dating to the Western Han have been discovered



FIGURE 2.2 Rock-cut tombs at Jiulongshan near Qufu, Shandong province, Western Han dynasty (202 BCE–9 CE). Photograph by the author.

in the modern-day provinces of Jiangsu, Henan, Shandong, and Guangdong. All of these tombs have been attributed to Han kings.³ They represent many of the most elaborate tombs built during the Western Han period. Tomb 2 at Bao'anshan 保安山, near Yongcheng 永城, Henan, for example, measures roughly 1,600 square meters and contains thirty-four side rooms extending off the main corridor (figure 2.3).⁴ The Shizishan 獅子山 tomb, located in modern-day Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu province, one of the earliest rock-cut tombs excavated to date, is estimated to have taken at least fourteen years to construct (figure 2.4).⁵ These sites have yielded many masterpieces of Han art and even feature self-standing architectural edifices fashioned from wood or stone and/or ornate wall paintings.⁶

The sudden appearance of rock-cut tombs or artificial caves hollowed out of steep cliffs during the Western Han dynasty represents a decisive transition in Han funerary architecture. In the past, scholars have advanced a variety of explanations for this new style. Wu Hung and Jessica Rawson, for example, have attributed the shift to foreign influence. Rawson has proposed

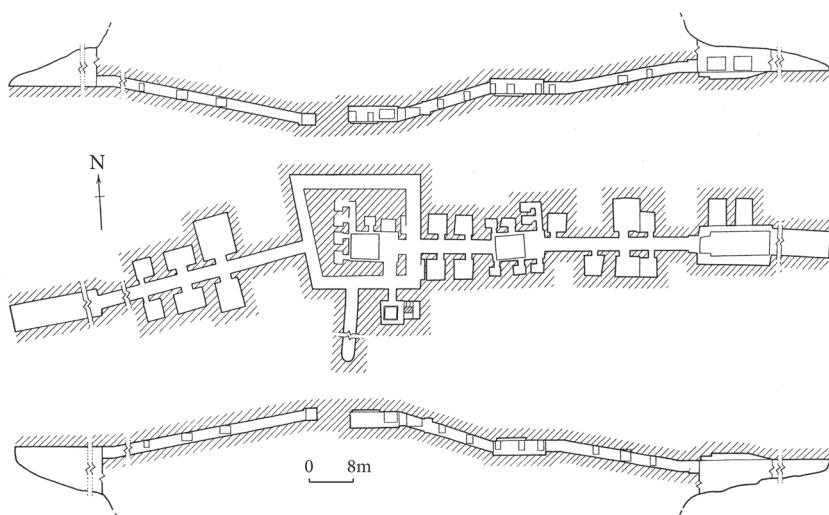


FIGURE 2.3 Plan and section of Bao'anshan tomb 2, Yongcheng, Henan province, Western Han, second century BCE. Redrawn by Gary Wang after Yan Genqi, *Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi*, 40, fig. 17.

that the Chinese built rock-cut tombs after hearing stories about stone tombs in Siberia, Iran, and even further west. She suggests that, in particular, the Chinese may have heard reports of the so-called frozen kurgans, or stone cairn tombs, at Pazyryk in the Altai, where seepage and condensed water collected below the massive burial mounds, forming ice that preserved to an astonishing degree the mummified bodies and other organic materials placed in the tombs (figure 2.5).⁷ Wu argues for influence from another direction, contending that rock-cut tombs developed when the Chinese became aware of Indian rock-cut Buddhist sanctuaries.⁸

If we consider the available evidence, however, it seems far more likely that rock-cut chamber tombs developed most directly from existing Chinese tradition. First, the Pazyryk burials, basically log-cabin-style wood-chamber tombs positioned under large piled-stone barrows, bear little resemblance to the Han rock-cut tombs, which were excavated laterally out of mountain rock.⁹ Second, the Pazyryk burials, constructed between 300 and 250 BCE, appeared later than tombs that made use of stone in China. As early as the late Western Zhou (1045–771 BCE), southern Chinese elites had already begun to create tombs with barrier walls of piled stones around the perimeter of their wooden burial chambers to provide support and to protect the tomb against

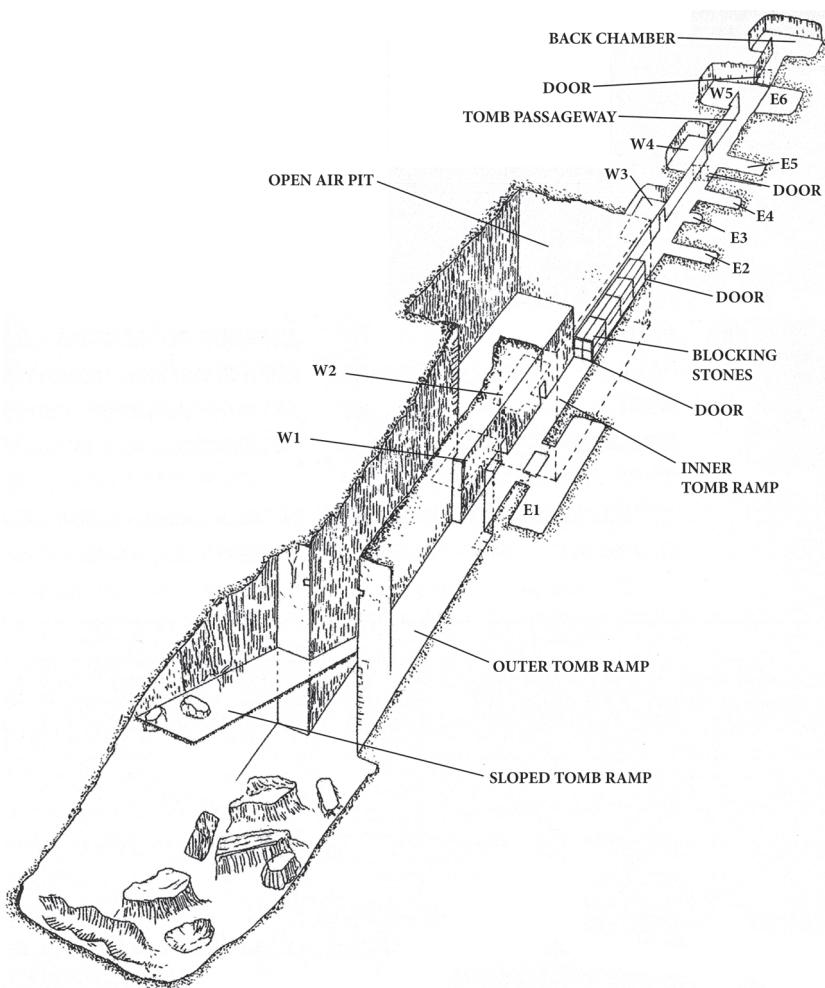


FIGURE 2.4 Perspective drawing of the Shizishan tomb (Lion's Hill tomb), Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Redrawn by the author and Gary Wang after Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu and Xuzhou Chuwang ling Han bingmayong bowuguan, *Shizishan Chuwang ling*, 12.

looting.¹⁰ By the Spring and Autumn period (770–481 BCE), elites had begun to create tombs with rock-cut vertical shafts (figures 2.6 and 2.7).¹¹ Both stone-shaft vertical-pit tombs and tombs with piled stone walls would continue to be produced in the Warring States period (480–221 BCE) and would form an important precedent for the rock-cut tombs of the Han.

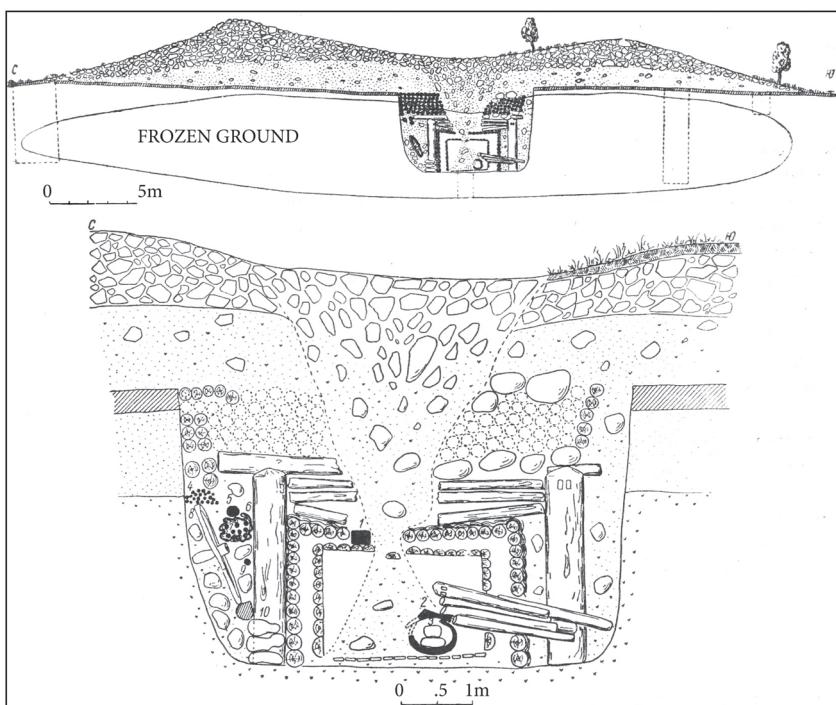


FIGURE 2.5 Section through burial mound 5 at Pazyryk showing the log-lined burial chamber and gravel mound. Redrawn by Keven Bloomfield and the author after Rudenko, *Kul'tura naseleniya Gornogo Altaya v skifskoe vremya*, 33.



FIGURE 2.6 Mountain peak where tomb 9 (D9M1) at Zhenshan was constructed in Suzhou, Jiangsu province, late Spring and Autumn period (sixth century BCE). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

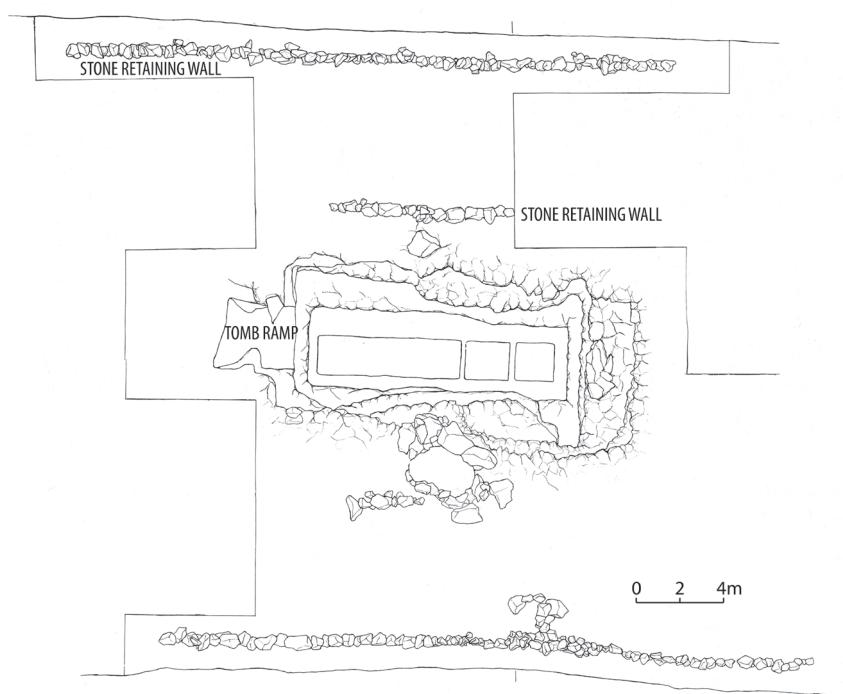
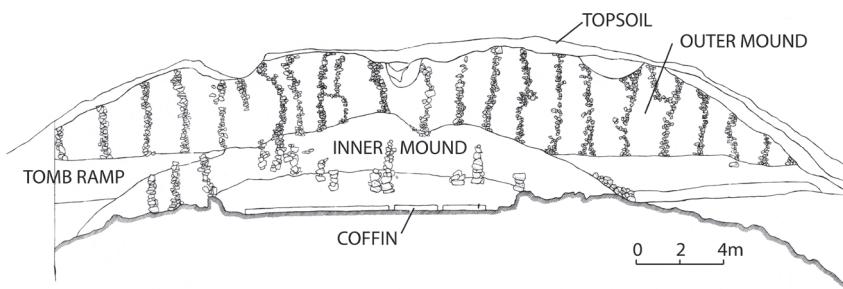


FIGURE 2.7 Plan and section of Zhenshan tomb 9 (D9M1), Suzhou, Jiangsu province, late Spring and Autumn period (sixth century BCE). Redrawn by Gary Wang and the author after Suzhou Bowuguan, *Zhenshan Dong Zhou mudi: Wu Chu guizu mudi de fajue yu yanjiu*, 4.

Concerning Wu's proposition that rock-cut tombs resulted from imitation of rock-cut sanctuaries in India, we encounter similar issues with dating and style. Wu is correct that China was not the earliest civilization to develop rock-cut architecture. Rock-cut tombs appeared in Egypt as early as 1450 BCE, and rock-cut sanctuaries in Anatolia by 1250 BCE.¹² However, rock-cut architecture did not spread eastward across Eurasia until much later. Darius I brought rock-cut tomb architecture to modern-day Iran when he carved his tomb out of the cliffs near Persepolis in 486 BCE (figure 2.8). Buddhist rock-cut sanctuaries appeared in India in the third century BCE.¹³ The earliest rock-cut vertical-pit tombs in southern China, therefore, predate both the Indian and Iranian examples. Also, Chinese rock-cut tombs did not feature elaborate architectural facades, as did rock-cut tombs in other locations, but were hidden in mountain peaks to prevent looting.

Other scholars have proposed that the development of grottolike rock-cut tombs can be connected to two interrelated transitions in Chinese funerary architecture: a new interest in stone as a building material and the transition in tomb architecture from vertical-shaft tombs to horizontally oriented chamber tombs. With regard to the first, archeologists can show that elites increasingly used stone in their burial designs from the Western Zhou onward. Being impermeable, stone served a practical function in both rock-cut and piled-stone tombs: the material was stronger and longer-lasting than wood and made the tomb less easy to loot.¹⁴ Others, however, have contended that it also was used for symbolic or magical reasons: to re-create spirit worlds in the tomb, to make the deceased's underground home eternal.¹⁵

The increased use of stone also correlated with a broader transition from vertical-pit tombs to horizontally oriented chamber tombs, which occurred gradually from the Spring and Autumn period to the Han, for a variety of cultural, ideological, and religious reasons.¹⁶ In the case of vertical-pit tombs, the burial chamber was constructed inside an excavated pit and the coffins and grave goods lowered in vertically from the top or via a tomb ramp. Because the wooden outer chamber was covered with planks and then filled in with layers of charcoal or rock and pounded earth, reentry into the tomb was impossible. Also, ceremonies could not be conducted in the tomb space.¹⁷

Horizontal orientation fulfilled a wide range of needs. For one, it made it easier to prepare tombs in advance. Because the tomb chambers were constructed on a lateral axis, they were covered, enterable spaces that could be constructed and decorated gradually over time, giving artisans a longer



FIGURE 2.8 Achaemenid royal tombs at Naqš-e Rustam, Fars province, Iran. Tomb attributed to Darius the Great (r. 522–486 BCE) on the right. © Livius.org | Jona Lendering.

period to turn them into sites of luxurious display.¹⁸ Horizontal orientation also permitted the establishment of sacrificial space in the tomb, which was used for ceremonies conducted during the funeral.¹⁹ It also enabled relatives to reopen a tomb in order to bury husbands and wives together.²⁰

This chapter does not attempt to replace these theories and narratives with another account. As I will repeatedly emphasize throughout this book, a variety of factors contributed to transitions in Han funerary art and architecture. The practical and religious reasons that might have caused one member of the Han elite to select a rock-cut tomb might easily have been different for another member.

Another way to think about the explanations summarized here is to consider the questions they leave unanswered. Why, for example, if Han elites sought to create stone tombs so that they would last forever, did so many emperors and kings of the middle and late Western Han build wooden tombs? Moreover, why was the rock-cut tomb style so pervasive among a certain segment of elites—namely, the kings? Why did the Han emperors—excluding,

possibly, Emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE)—generally not commission tombs of this type?

To answer these questions, this chapter will highlight another part of the story: how the development of rock-cut tomb architecture connected with the political context of the period—in particular, how this form especially suited the social and political needs of the kings and how its use led to a high degree of stylistic innovation that occurred independently from what occurred in the capital. Overall, this chapter demonstrates how mortuary architecture—rather than being transferred from the imperial capital to the kingdoms in a top-down manner—developed in decidedly new ways: kings were exploring directions in their material and cultural display that had never been anticipated by the imperial center.

We begin by looking at the tomb that some have claimed sparked the rock-cut tomb movement: Emperor Wen's Baling 霸陵 tomb. We consider current evidence for Baling's location and architectural style and analyze its possible connections with the longer rock-cut tomb tradition among the kings. We then consider the development of this rock-cut mortuary style by looking at recently excavated tombs in the territories of several Western Han kingdoms. What were the political reasons for kings' having selected this style, and what were the changes that occurred as a result?

ROCK-CUT TOMBS AND EMPEROR WEN'S BALING

An account of the development of rock-cut tombs during the Han dynasty must begin with the story of Emperor Wen's Baling, which many well-known scholars, including Xu Pingfang, Jiao Nanfeng, Liu Qingzhu, and others, have claimed was an early rock-cut tomb.²¹ Several others have proposed that Baling was the site that local kings imitated when they built rock-cut tombs in their local districts.²² We will reevaluate this narrative, proposing that although Baling does seem to have been connected to the kings' rock-cut tombs, it was the kings' experimentation with this style on a local level that most likely led to the most spectacular advances in this architectural genre in the Han—specifically, the development of rock-cut chamber tombs.

Emperor Wen's Baling departed abruptly from prior imperial tombs in its location and style. The first and second emperors of the Western Han, Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 202–195 BCE) and Emperor Hui 惠帝 (r. 195–188 BCE), had positioned their tombs in what they established as the Han imperial burial ground north of Chang'an 長安, the capital city, north of the Wei 渭 River.



FIGURE 2.9 Emperor Hui's (r. 194–188 BCE) Anling tumulus, Xianyang, Shaanxi province. Photograph by Ma Yongying.

There, they capped their tombs with grandiose, towering mounds of rammed earth (figure 2.9) and buried themselves in a manner similar to that of the First Emperor of Qin (d. 210 BCE).²³ Emperor Wen differed from the first two Han emperors in that he positioned his mausoleum roughly 28.5 kilometers (17.7 miles) southeast of the Weiyang 未央 palace in the Han capital of Chang'an 長安 at a site on the White Deer Plain (figure 2.10).²⁴ According to the *Hanshu*, he “relied on a [natural] mountain [for his tumulus] and did not raise a mound” (因其山，不起墳).²⁵

Although the precise site of the Baling tomb remains to be pinpointed and is unexcavated, its general location on the White Deer Plain is widely agreed upon, based on historical records and the discovery of corollary sites, such as the tombs of Emperor Wen's empress and mother, among others. The White Deer Plain, located east of modern-day Xi'an 西安, is the largest loess terrace within the boundaries of Xi'an city.²⁶ The terrace lies between two rivers, the Chan 渢 and the Ba 潞, and has an elongated shape, measuring roughly six to nine kilometers (3.73–5.59 miles) in width and twenty-five kilometers (15.53 miles) in length.²⁷ The Ba and Chan rivers cut through the terrace to the east and west, respectively, forming cliffs. On the northeast

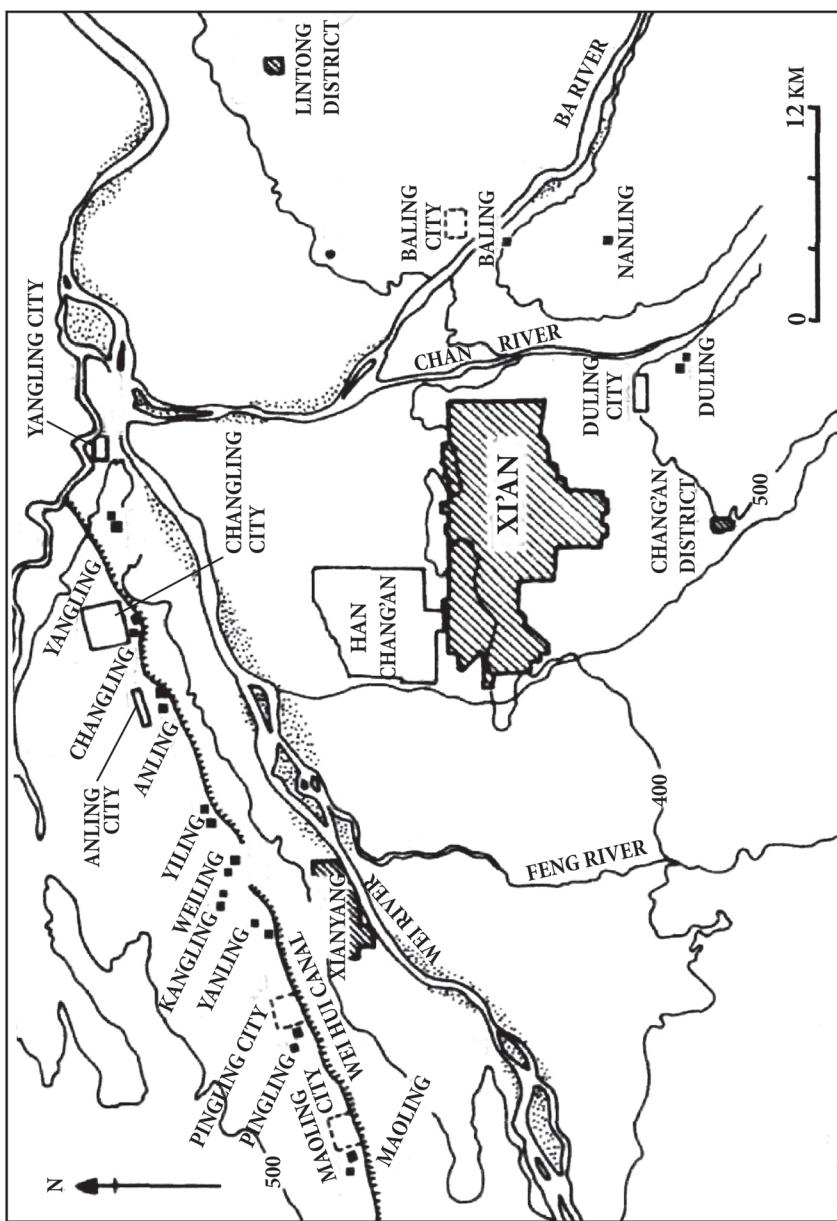


FIGURE 2.10 Map of the Han imperial tombs near Xi'an, Shaanxi province.
Redrawn by Gary Wang and the author after Jiao Nanfeng and Yang, "Gongting shenghuo de suying," 91, fig. 1.3.

side of the plateau, the cliff rises 240–320 meters above the Ba River. In the southwest, near the Chan River, the plateau is much lower, rising only 150–200 meters above the river.²⁸

Baling is believed to lie on the eastern side of the plain, near the Ba River, as evidenced by its name and other known sites (figure 2.11).²⁹ According to

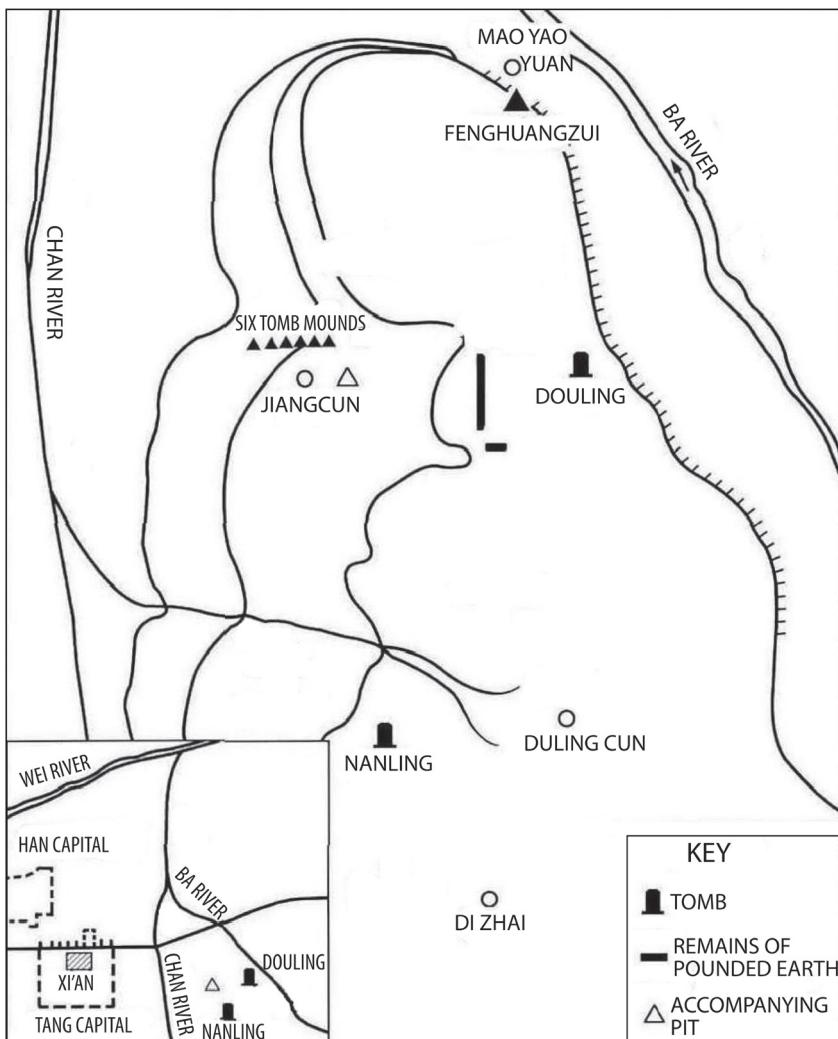


FIGURE 2.11 Map of the White Deer Plain, Xi'an, Shaanxi province. Redrawn by the author and Gary Wang after Yang Wuzhan and Cao, “Han Baling diling de muzang xingzhi tantao,” 117, fig. 4.

the histories, Emperor Wen's empress, Empress Dou 窦皇后 (d. 129 BCE), was buried together with him at Baling.³⁰ Indeed, on the eastern side of the plain, not far from the cliff edge, a tomb marked with a roughly square, towering, human-built mound remains, standing today at roughly 19.5 meters in height, which is comparable to other empresses' tombs. Scholars have attributed the tomb to Empress Dou; for simplicity, we will refer to the site as Douling 窦陵, an appellation sometimes used by modern archeologists.³¹ To the west of Douling, forty-seven auxiliary pits were discovered at a site referred to as Renjiapo 任家坡.³² The pits contained pottery coffins and other burial accoutrements, the remains of buried animals (horses, sheep, pigs, dogs, chickens, geese, and cranes), pottery jars, grain, and forty-two miniature figurines of female attendants.³³

A tomb that has been attributed to Emperor Wen's mother, Empress Dowager Bo 薄太后 (d. 155 BCE), has also been discovered southwest of Douling, providing further evidence that Baling was located in this general region. Empress Dowager Bo was buried near Emperor Wen's tomb rather than near the tomb of Emperor Wen's father, Emperor Gaozu, because Empress Dowager Lü 呂皇后 had already been buried near Emperor Gaozu's tomb (in a separate mausoleum). The *Hanshu* records:

Two years after Emperor Wen died, in the second year [155 BCE] of Emperor Jing's reign 景帝 (r. 157–141 BCE), Empress Dowager [Bo] died and was buried at Nanling. Because of Empress Lü, she was not buried together with [Emperor Gaozu] at Changling. Instead, she specially raised a tomb for herself near Emperor Wen.

太后後文帝二歲，孝景前二年崩，葬南陵。用呂后不合葬長陵，故特自起陵，近文帝。³⁴

Empress Dowager Bo never held the title of empress; she only became empress dowager after her son was enthroned as emperor. According to Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645 CE), her tomb was called the “Southern Mausoleum” (Nanling 南陵) because it was located “south of Baling” (霸陵之南).³⁵ Today, a 29.5-meter-high mound remains at the site, along with the remains of an outer wall and *que* gates.³⁶ Two hundred meters to the north and west of Nanling, twenty auxiliary pits have been discovered that were filled with female attendant figurines as well as other items.³⁷

Although Baling's position on the White Deer Plain is widely accepted, scholars have disagreed on the tomb's specific location and its style. Scholars as early as the Qing believed that the site was dug into a section of the terrace that juts out over the Ba River on the plain's northeastern edge. The terrace cliff in this area has been dubbed "The Phoenix's Mouth" (*Fenghuangzui* 鳳凰嘴) because it resembles an elegantly pitched mountain in the shape of an isosceles triangle (figure 2.12).³⁸ Today, at the base of the cliff, a large multi-level terrace remains, measuring eighty meters (262.5 ft) per side at its widest level. Ceramic tiles dating to the Han, as well as paving pebbles, have also been found there. Originally, many steles are believed to have been positioned in this location, facilitating the presentation of offerings at various times to the deceased emperor. Currently, only eleven remain, dating to the Ming and Qing dynasties.³⁹

Although scholars located Baling at Fenghuangzui for centuries, recent scholars have questioned this conclusion, as well as the notion that Emperor Wen's Baling was rock-cut. Li Yinde has convincingly argued that the White Deer Plain, a loess plateau, likely did not contain rock that was suitable for



FIGURE 2.12 Stele inscribed "Emperor Wen's Baling" at Fenghuangzui, Xi'an, Shaanxi province. Photograph by the author.

the construction of a rock-cut tomb.⁴⁰ In China, rock-cut tombs were always built in mountains or hills that contained high-quality limestone. Granite could not be used because it was too hard, shale was too fissile, and sandstone was too soft. Liu points out that when the First Emperor commissioned his stone suits of armor, he did not mine the rock from the nearby Mount Li 驪山 (nor the White Deer Plain), because these areas did not have quality limestone.⁴¹ Instead, the plaques were produced using stone from north of the Wei River, specifically the Fenghuangshan 凤凰山 mountain range, which stretches from modern-day Lei 雷 village in Fuping 富平 county to the town of Gongli 宫裡.⁴²

Li proposes that Baling was likely a vertical-pit tomb with a stone outer chamber that may have been created in imitation of the First Emperor's mausoleum.⁴³ According to the *Shiji*, the First Emperor "fashioned the outer chamber [of his tomb] out of stone from the northern mountains" (發北山石椁).⁴⁴ He utilized bronze to reinforce this stone chamber and coated the outside with lacquer.⁴⁵ Emperor Wen purportedly knew of the style of the First Emperor's outer chamber and, according to the *Shiji*, expressed a desire to have a tomb of the same type. While sitting atop Baling with his attendants, Emperor Wen remarked, "Alas, if you use stone from the northern mountains to make my outer chamber, use ramie and silk floss to stuff the fissures and seal it all with lacquer; how could someone break into that?" (嗟乎! 以北山石為椁, 用紵絮斷陳, 紊漆其閒, 豈可動哉!)⁴⁶ Zhang Shizhi 張釋之 responded to the emperor by discouraging him from building his outer chamber from stone, suggesting that if expensive goods were inside, thieves would still find a way to loot the site.

The *Shiji* does not reveal whether the emperor listened to Zhang's suggestions. Later records, however, indicate that stone was used in the construction of Emperor Wen's Baling tomb. A Ming source records, "In the autumn of 1291, the waters of the Ba River broke through the outer gate of the Ba Tomb and flushed out more than five hundred stone slabs" (至元辛卯秋, 瀉水沖開灞陵外羨門, 沖出石板五百余片).⁴⁷ In excavated mountain tombs, stone slabs were sometimes employed either to block the tomb entrance or to form the tomb walls.⁴⁸

A few scholars have argued that Baling was originally located at another site referred to as Jiangcun damu 江村大墓, a recently discovered vertical-pit tomb positioned to the west of the Douling tomb. Jiangcun damu was discovered after it was looted in 2001, and unofficial reports have characterized it as a stave wall tomb with three encircling corridors formed by brick

and piled-wood walls.⁴⁹ The tomb's square chamber measures approximately forty meters on each side and is positioned approximately thirty meters underground.⁵⁰ From the tomb's interior, looters plundered nearly 300 objects including six naked figures, discovered without arms. These figures are similar to those excavated from Emperor Jing's Yangling 陽陵, discussed in the next chapter, which were originally clothed. They are referred to in reports as "black figures" not because they were originally painted black, but because charcoal buried in the tomb stained them.⁵¹ Shaanxi archaeologists have continued to excavate near this tomb and have discovered a large number of auxiliary pits, a kiln, the remains of four *que*-gates, and a cobblestone-paved walkway of 1.5 meters in width.⁵²

In a recent article, Yang Wuzhan and Cao Long have argued that Jiangcun damu might be Baling because it was a large-scale burial located closer to Empress Dou's tomb than the Fenghuangzui area. They contend, based on the tombs of other Han emperors built before and after Baling, that Emperor Wen's tomb should have been located closer to his empress's tomb and should have been built in the same style. Since his empress was buried in a four-ramp, vertical-pit earthen tomb with a large tumulus, they argue that this also should have been the style of Emperor Wen's tomb.⁵³

Several aspects of Jiangcun damu, however, problematize the notion that it was Emperor Wen's Baling. For one, an initial report concerning the site stated that Jiangcun damu was originally mounded.⁵⁴ Nearly every historical account, including the *Shiji*, indicates that Baling was not topped with a tumulus.

Other problems relate to the style of the tomb and the figurines discovered near the site. The complex style of the tomb—purportedly a stave wall tomb of three interior corridors—was generally popular among elites who built tombs during Emperor Wu's reign and after.⁵⁵ Similarly, the armless, naked, charcoal-stained figurines found in the tomb (figure 2.13) had been previously dated to the reigns of Emperors Wu and Xuan 宣帝 (r. 74–49 BCE) (although figurines in this general style have been dated to as early as Emperor Jing's reign).⁵⁶ In addition, the forty-seven auxiliary pits at Renjiapo, which Yang and Cao suggest may have been attached to this tomb rather than to Empress Dou's tomb, contained a large quantity of female figurines, supporting the prior theory of Hu Lingui that Jiangcun damu was an accompanying tomb (to Baling), which belonged to Princess Guantao 館陶公主 (Chen Piao 陳嫖), a daughter of Emperor Wen who died in 116 BCE.⁵⁷



FIGURE 2.13 Charcoal-stained earthenware figures (originally dressed in fabric clothing) excavated from Jiangcun damu, Shaanxi province, Western Han dynasty (202 BCE–9 CE). Courtesy of Ma Yongying.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Jiangcun damu is not located in a mountainous area and does not overlook the Ba River—the river from which Baling derives its name. Instead, it is positioned on flat area roughly in the middle of the White Deer Plain. Yang and Cao have explained this discrepancy by arguing that the *Hanshu*'s statement that Emperor Wen "relied on the mountain for his tumulus" is a later amendment to the histories; this statement is missing from the *Shiji*, the historical text composed nearest in time to Emperor Wen's reign.⁵⁸ Had the emperor wanted to build his tomb in a mountain, they argue, he could have positioned his tomb in the Qinling 秦嶺 or Jiuzong 九嶧 mountains, also located in modern-day Shaanxi province.⁵⁹ Baling's location on the White Deer Plain, in their view, indicates that the emperor listened to the advice of his minister, Zhang Shizhi, and decided against burying himself in a mountain tomb.⁶⁰

It is useful in this context to remember that what qualified as a mountain to viewers in Western Han China may have been a landform that modern viewers would classify only as a hill or a cliff. Several rock-cut tombs in Xuzhou, for example, were positioned in sites that resembled little more than low hills. The high terrace that forms the White Deer Plain between the Chan and Ba rivers may not seem mountainous to some modern observers; however, for historical viewers, this high ground, particularly from the perspective of the terrace edges, may have been considered a "mountain."

Several passages in the histories indicate that this was the case. The first is a passage in which the young Emperor Wen, sitting in his chariot atop Baling, expresses the desire to gallop down the steep slope that led to the Ba River. His minister, Yuan Ang 袁盎, in response, rode up next to the emperor's chariot and prevented him from proceeding, causing Emperor Wen to mock him as a coward. To this Yuan replied,

Now Your Majesty would race down the steep mountain [pulled by] six horses. If one of the horses is startled, [Your Majesty's] chariot will turn over. Even if Your Majesty is carefree and does not attach much importance to [Your Majesty's] own life, what about the temple of Emperor Gao[zu] and the Empress Dowager?⁶¹

今陛下騁六駢，馳下峻山，如有馬驚車敗，陛下縱自輕，柰高廟、太后何？⁶²

In this passage, Baling is described as a cliff overlooking the Ba River, steep enough to topple a horse and chariot.

Another scene presents a similar characterization of the area. In this episode, Emperor Wen traveled to Baling with his favorite consort, Lady Shen 慎夫人. According to the text, the couple “sat down on the northern cliff overlooking the water” (居北臨廁) and gazed into the distance as the emperor pointed out landmarks such as his childhood home.⁶³

Lastly, Emperor Wen’s final edict concerning his burial, also quoted in the *Shiji*, concludes with the following statement: “As for Baling, the mountains and rivers have been left in their original state; nothing has been altered” (霸陵山川因其故，毋有所改).⁶⁴ In this edict, Yang and Cao read the two words “山川” as a single word, “landscape.” In most pre-Qin and -Han texts, however, these terms are treated as separate entities, indicating that the emperor did not change either the mountains or the rivers in the vicinity of his burial.⁶⁵

Based on the preceding discussion, we can present the following conclusions about Emperor Wen’s Baling. First, Emperor Wen built a tomb that contrasted strongly with the tombs of his predecessors because it “relied on a mountain” for its mound and was built south of the capital on the White Deer Plain rather than in the imperial graveyard. As such, it is entirely possible that Emperor Wen’s tomb was not in the same style and was located further from his empress’s tomb than tombs of prior emperors. His empress’s tomb, after all, was built during the reign of his son, whose administration and burial expressions differed substantially from that of his father.

Second, based on the geology of the White Deer Plain, and specifically the lack of high-quality limestone, the tomb is unlikely to have been rock-cut. Stone blocks, however, may have been used in the tomb’s construction, based on Ming period records. Finally, although Baling has not been definitely located, Fenghuangzui and Jiangcun damu have been identified as possible sites of the tomb. Fenghuangzui presents topographical features that accord with historical accounts; however, the tomb has not been found there. The Jiangcun damu site has also been proposed as a possible site of Baling; however, the archaeological data released to date has not presented sufficient evidence to convincingly identify the tomb as Emperor Wen’s grave.

UNDERSTANDING EMPEROR WEN’S PRECEDENT

What relationship did Baling have with the rock-cut chamber tombs that have been excavated in the provinces? To answer this question, we must look into the politics of funerary architecture in the early imperial period,

particularly the implications of building tombs on or near a mountain in the Han. We will then consider in what ways Baling may have served as a key precedent for kings' tombs outside of the capital. I will demonstrate that Emperor Wen's tomb and its design, which centered on the notion of marking one's tomb with a natural mountain, made a strong political statement in the early Han. Specifically, the emperor used the style to reinforce the idea that his reign considered the needs of the people by minimizing the use of their tax labor and to suggest, by burial in a mountain, a reign supported by the spirits. Kings' participation in this mountain tomb style, I will argue, not only tied them into this imperial narrative but also offered specific benefits in their local regions.

In designing a tomb that explicitly opposed tombs of prior styles, Emperor Wen utilized tomb architecture as one tactic to communicate to the population his identity, authority, and legitimacy. In doing so, he acted similarly to the First Emperor of Qin, who utilized his Mt. Li mausoleum to convince the population of his identity as the "First August High God" (*Shi Huangdi* 始皇帝), the greatest emperor who had ever lived, the "warp" (*jing* 經) through which all of nature and mankind was aligned.⁶⁶ The First Emperor's tomb was designed as a microcosm, a representation of all the territory under his control, including the land, rivers, and heavenly bodies.⁶⁷ Auxiliary pits, such as the four pits containing the famed terracotta warriors, commemorated his military achievements, his robust bureaucracy, and the vast lands that he had conquered.⁶⁸

The First Emperor had created a spectacle involving thousands of workers in the capital region to convey an identity of power. Near the tomb, he established a city with the same name as the tomb itself: Mt. Li tomb town (*Liyi* 麗邑).⁶⁹ The town housed a large population, including forced laborers, skilled artisans, and elite families from across the empire. The exact size of the population of Mt. Li tomb town is not recorded in the histories. However, it is likely to have exceeded one million people since, according to the *Shiji*, the "mutilated or banished criminals (*tuxingzhe* 徒刑者)" employed at this site and at the emperor's Afang 阿房 Palace alone numbered more than seven hundred thousand.⁷⁰ The tomb was positioned on the main road into the capital city from the Container Valley Pass (*Hangu guan* 函谷關), the main route that travelers took from the Eastern States.⁷¹ The thousands of workers involved in the project, the city named after it, and its location on the main road into the capital made it a real and public spectacle of the emperor's power. Word of the project would have spread throughout

the empire, both through people who passed through the town on the way to the capital city and by means of the large network of individuals whose job it was to transport laborers and materials from distant regions to the capital for the tomb. One of these individuals was the Han founder, Liu Bang 劉邦; he started his revolt against the Qin after losing some convicts in the mountains as he brought them from the south to be employed at the site.⁷²

As Emperor Wen considered the design of Baling, the First Emperor's model formed an important precedent. In fact, the tombs of the first two Han emperors had been based on the First Emperor's Mt. Li—even if theirs were scaled-down versions. Emperor Wen, however, decided to build a different type of tomb—a tomb that explicitly rejected the First Emperor's earlier model. Rather than commissioning a tomb that required the labor of thousands of his subjects to build the mound, Emperor Wen built a moundless tomb, utilizing the mountain as his tumulus and declaring himself to be a benevolent emperor.

To make his intentions about his tomb clear to the population, he issued a special testamentary edict (*yizhao* 遺詔) to the whole empire, written prior to his death but uniquely phrased to suggest that the deceased emperor was actively speaking to the population regarding the manner of his burial.⁷³ In that statement, he declared,

Generous burials destroy livelihoods; long mourning periods harm the living.⁷⁴ I cannot accept this. I have not been benevolent and have not supported the common people. Now that I am dead, if I then force people into extended mourning and long wailings with successive summers and winters away, it will impoverish their food and drink and cut off their sacrifices to the spirits, only compounding my lack of benevolence. What could I say to all-under-heaven?"

厚葬以破業，重服以傷生，吾甚不取。且朕既不德，無以佐百姓；今崩，又使重服久臨，以離寒暑之數損其飲食，絕鬼神之祭祀，以重吾不德也，謂天下何。⁷⁵

Here, Emperor Wen presented the interests of humans, spirits, and the environment as the same: all would flourish under a rightful ruler who governed in peaceful concord with the world around him.⁷⁶ He rejected an extravagant burial with a high mound, because such a burial would take people away from their work and from their sacrifices to the spirits in order to construct his personal monument. As a result, he was able to create a

memorial site that was notable for its *nonimpact*. As the final lines of his testamentary edict state, “As for Baling, the mountains and rivers have been left in their original state, nothing has been altered.”⁷⁷ Building his tomb without a tumulus symbolized his claim to having achieved a human order so natural that it operated in perfect coherence with the spirits, the land, and the people.

THE MOUNTAIN TOMB IN THE KINGDOMS

I argue that Emperor Wen’s Baling was an important factor in the development of rock-cut tombs in Western Han China. His politically charged burial represented to the empire the notion that rule by the Liu clan had been supported by the spirits and, by extension, the people themselves. This idea likely would have been attractive to kings, who also sought to manifest their own legitimacy and who, for the first time in history, controlled the mountains in their local districts. As the late Western Han historian Sima Qian pointed out, “in antiquity, the land of the collected nobles did not surpass one hundred *li* and they were not enfeoffed with mountains or seas” (故古者諸侯地不過百里，山海不以封).⁷⁸ In the Han, the kings’ new control of these areas meant that they were able to take advantage of them as important sources of minerals, rock, and timber.

The kings utilized mountain resources toward both public and private ends. The king of Wu 吳, for example, had a copper mountain in his territory that he utilized for the minting of coins. The kingdom profited to such a degree from this and from his salt-making business that he did not levy taxes on the people.⁷⁹ In addition to public purposes, the mountains could also support the kings’ personal expenses. As discussed in chapter 1, according to the *Shiji*, “the income from taxes stemming from the mountains, waters, orchards, lakes, and markets” (山川園池市井租稅之入) was also a means by which the kings privately supported themselves.⁸⁰

During the Han, conducting rituals in well-known local mountains became an important way the imperial house communicated to the empire the authority of the Liu clan. Under this system, each king conducted sacrifices in the mountains in his territory, representing the spirits’ support of the clan’s local rule. Whenever any of the kingdoms was vacant, a grand supplicator (*taizhu* 太祝) was sent to conduct sacrifices in the mountains of that kingdom.⁸¹ Local mountains, during the Han, were spaces where kings enacted ceremonies that emphasized their authority over the land and

support by the spirits. Tombs positioned in mountains naturally would have reinforced these claims.

The act of multiple kings constructing their tombs in mountains in the Han—particularly after the emperor himself had just built a tomb on or near a mountain—would have implied a type of administrative unity among the ruling members of the Liu family. In fact, promoting unity among the Liu clan was a specific goal of Emperor Wen’s administration. As discussed in chapter 1, throughout his reign, Emperor Wen acted benevolently toward his family members, seeking every opportunity to augment the clan’s unity. Even though it is often mistakenly believed that Emperor Wen pursued centralization, as I explained in chapter 1, his division of several kingdoms into smaller tracts represented an attempt to ensure the longevity of the multi-centered administrative system, rather than to dismantle it. Although we do not know whether mountain tombs ever officially became a sumptuary sign of membership in the Liu family house, the broad adoption of the mountain tomb style by the kings who lived during Emperor Wen’s reign would have presented the appearance of unity, at least with regard to funerary traditions, to other Han elites and the broader population.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ROCK-CUT TOMBS UNDER THE EARLY WESTERN HAN KINGS

Although Emperor Wen’s decision to bury himself in a mountain without a mound was provocative in the Han, his tomb likely was not a particularly innovative one in terms of its architecture style. At most, Emperor Wen might have created a stone-lined chamber—that is, a vertical-pit tomb lined with stones or stone blocks. Instead, it was experimentation on a local level, likely by the kings of Chu 楚, that led to the full blossoming of the rock-cut style of tomb architecture during the Han.

In the development of rock-cut tombs in the provinces, one particular tomb played a more significant role than others: the Shizishan (Lion’s Hill) tomb, located in the former kingdom of Chu. The importance of Shizishan to the history of rock-cut tombs in Western Han China lies in its transitional form. The layout of Shizishan indicates that the form of the tomb was determined ad hoc, as a result of the high-quality rock discovered as the builders dug a deep pit in Lion’s Hill Mountain. To create the tomb, the builders first excavated a large, open-air, vertical-shaft pit, as would have been typical for any standard tomb at that time (figure 2.14). However, after encountering

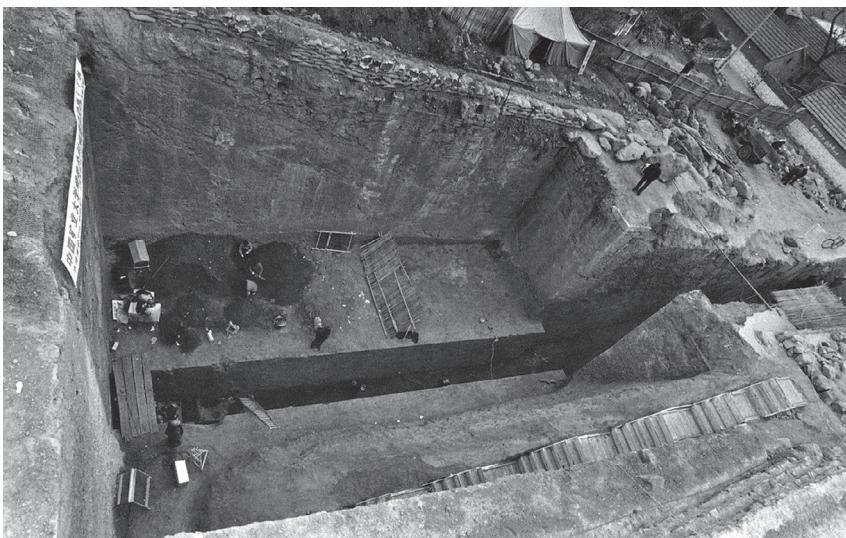


FIGURE 2.14 Aerial view of the excavation of the Shizishan tomb, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu bowuguan.

high-quality rock as they dug the tomb shaft, the builders suddenly decided to experiment with a new form, carving lateral tunnels out from the tomb shaft to the north and south. On either side of this tunnel, they constructed eleven cavelike side rooms. The result was an 851-square-meter tomb with rooms arranged on either side of a central corridor.⁸² Compared to other sites, the amount of rock excavated by hand to create the tomb was extraordinary—5,139 cubic meters.⁸³ More rock had to be excavated for this site when compared with others because of the vertical-shaft pit first built overhead, which was later filled in with dirt to conceal the burial.

Regarding Shizishan's date, its transitional style and the large number of auxiliary pits placed near the tomb have led many scholars to propose that the tomb was built for the third king of Chu, Liu Wu 劉戊 (r. 174–154 BCE), who committed suicide following the Seven Kingdoms Revolt.⁸⁴ The tomb has an unfinished quality that correlates with the king's unexpected death. One of the tomb's side chambers (E3) was so shallow that the burial goods were simply stacked in the corridor outside the room. The tomb ramp was also unfinished, and the tomb walls appear to have only been roughly smoothed. The army pits were also not completed; the figures were scattered unevenly in rough trenches backfilled with dirt.⁸⁵

Other scholars, however, have suggested that the second king of Chu, Liu Yingke 劉郢客 (King Yi 夷, r. 178–175 BCE) was interred at the site.⁸⁶ This attribution is less likely because Liu Yingke ruled for only four years, an insufficient amount of time to have planned and excavated the 5,139 cubic meters of rock required to build the Shizishan tomb, particularly without prior models.⁸⁷

In addition to Shizishan, two other tombs are believed to have been produced for kings who reigned concurrently with Emperor Wen and died after the Seven Kingdoms Revolt in 154 BCE: the Weishan 危山 tomb, attributed to the king of Jinan 濟南, Liu Biguang 劉辟光 (r. 164–154 BCE), and the Xiangshan 香山 tomb, attributed to Liu Xian 劉賢, king of Zichuan 蕤川 (r. 164–154 BCE).⁸⁸ Of these, only Shizishan was a true rock-cut tomb with burial chambers excavated laterally in the rock. The other two were vertical-pit tombs. (The Xiangshan tomb is a single-ramp vertical-pit tomb with earthen walls; the Weishan tomb is a single-ramp, vertical-pit stone tomb.)

The impact of the Shizishan tomb on Chu royal architecture and on royal funerary architecture was monumental. Current evidence indicates that following Shizishan, all royal tombs in Chu until the end of the Western Han would be rock-cut tombs.⁸⁹ In these post-Shizishan tombs, however, they did not build a vertical pit first. Instead, builders began by excavating horizontally into the mountain rock.

Following the Shizishan rock-cut tomb in Chu, rock-cut tombs would soon be built in mountains across the empire. To date, rock-cut tombs have been discovered in territories of the former kingdoms of Chu, Liang 梁, Lu, Zhongshan 中山, Jinan, Shanyang 山陽, and Jibei 濟北.⁹⁰ As tombs multiplied in these new localities, they developed in ways never anticipated by the imperial center.

Most of the architectural styles of such tombs were regional. In Liang and Zhongshan, for example, several tombs were designed with large circular galleries around either the front or back main chambers, seemingly echoing the corridors that commonly surrounded halls in ancient China.⁹¹ In Chu, circular galleries were never used.⁹² Instead, builders experimented with the emplacement of columns to create expansive central rooms (figure 2.15).⁹³ Other Chu royal tombs featured ceilings that mimicked roof shapes, including gable, hip, and dome roofs (figure 2.16).⁹⁴

Some variations in the structure of the tombs may have also reflected the choices of individual patrons. For example, whereas most rock-cut



FIGURE 2.15 Column inside the Guishan tomb of King Xiang of Chu (Liu Zhu r. 128–117), Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Photograph by Chen Zhao.



FIGURE 2.16 Gable ceiling in the front chamber of Beidongshan tomb, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

tombs were sealed with thousands of tons of stacked stone blocks, the so-called Mancheng 滿城 tombs, located in the Han kingdom of Zhongshan (in present-day Hebei province), were both sealed with impenetrable iron walls cast in place (figure 2.17).⁹⁵ In fact, the wall from the queen's tomb was so thick—containing roughly sixteen tons of iron—that archaeologists excavating the site in the late 1960s had to blast through the wall with dynamite to enter the tomb.⁹⁶

Different patrons also ornamented the inside of their tombs differently. In particular, during the reign of Emperor Wu, it became popular in Chu and Zhongshan to build freestanding wooden structures with tile roofs inside rock-cut burial chambers. In Chu, the remains of tile-roofed wooden buildings were found inside the Guishan 龜山 tomb of King Xiang 襄



FIGURE 2.17 Brick wall sealing the entrance to Mancheng tomb 2, the tomb of Dou Wan, Mancheng, Hebei province, Western Han, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

(Liu Zhu 劉注, r. 128–117 BCE), Nandongshan 南洞山, and Woniushan 牀牛山 tombs.⁹⁷ Similarly, in the Zhongshan kingdom, tile-roofed wooden buildings were constructed in the middle chambers of both Mancheng tombs; a freestanding stone-paneled building was also built in the rear chamber of both tombs to hold the coffin (figure 2.18 a, b). The wooden structure in Mancheng tomb 1 (King Jing 靖, Liu Sheng 劉勝's [r. 154–113 BCE] tomb) also contained two silk-covered tents for the “spirit seats” of the husband and wife.⁹⁸

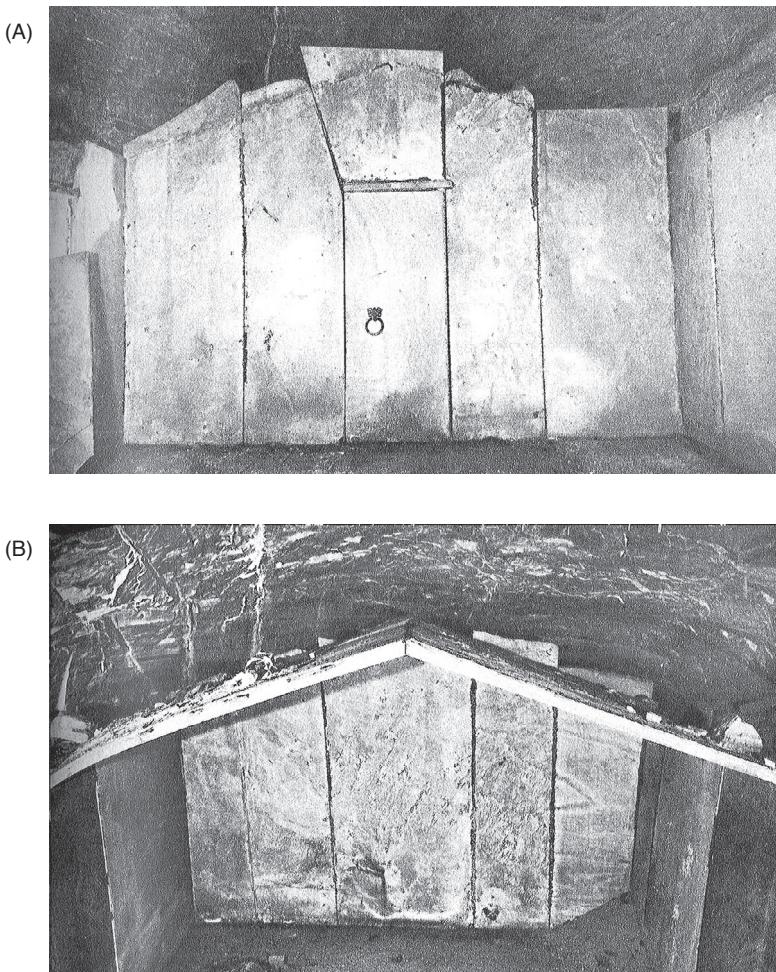


FIGURE 2.18A, B Exterior (a) and interior view (b) of the rear stone chamber in Mancheng tomb 2, the tomb of Dou Wan, Mancheng, Hebei province, Western Han, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

No matter where the tombs were situated, kings always had to contend with the geological limitations of the mountains in their region. Xiang Mountain (Xiangshan) in Shandong province, for example, where the king of Zichuan built his tomb, contains extremely hard, volcanic rock rather than soft limestone. As a result, the kings' builders could not position the tomb in the mountain but instead had to construct the tomb at the mountain's northern foot. The southern foot of the mountain would have been a more auspicious location; however, it contained sandy soil that was unsuitable for tomb construction.⁹⁹ As a result, the Xiangshan tomb is one of the only royal tombs excavated to date that is believed to have been built for a king who participated in the Seven Kingdoms Revolt and was not positioned in a mountain or excavated from stone.

Kings who ruled in the middle to later part of the Western Han in the kingdoms of Chu, Liang, and Shanyang, and in the foreign kingdom of Nanyue 南越, were also forced to build tombs with stone-lined walls, probably similar to Emperor Wen's Baling, because of the low quality of stone in the mountains in which their tombs were positioned.¹⁰⁰ In Chu and Liang, earlier kings' tombs already occupied the choice mountain sites near the capital, leaving later kings with lesser-quality sites for tomb building. In the case of the king of Nanyue, the creation of a stone-chambered mountain tomb was perhaps even more difficult than creating some rock-cut tombs (figure 2.19). Since high-quality stone was not available in the direct vicinity of his capital, the king had to transport stone by boat from a nearby estuary.¹⁰¹

In the imperial capital at Chang'an, after Emperor Wen's death, emperors returned to building their tombs on the flat plain north of the Wei River.¹⁰² In many kingdoms, however—especially those such as Chu, Liang, and Lu, whose founding ancestors had built rock-cut mountain tombs—the kings continued to position their mausoleums in mountains through the end of the Western Han. This likely occurred for two reasons. First, in the capital region, the mountains did not contain much rock, and as a result, the emperors could not build the types of tombs that were possible in many of the kingdoms. In contrast, in the kingdoms, if an early king—especially a founding member of a branch lineage—built a rock-cut tomb in the mountains near his kingdom's capital city, that mountain region would then become the royal cemetery and all later tombs would be built in that style. In kingdoms such as Chu, Liang, and Lu, each king selected a single peak for the tomb of the king and his queen(s). Typically, earlier kings positioned their tombs in the highest peaks, which contained the highest-quality stone. Later

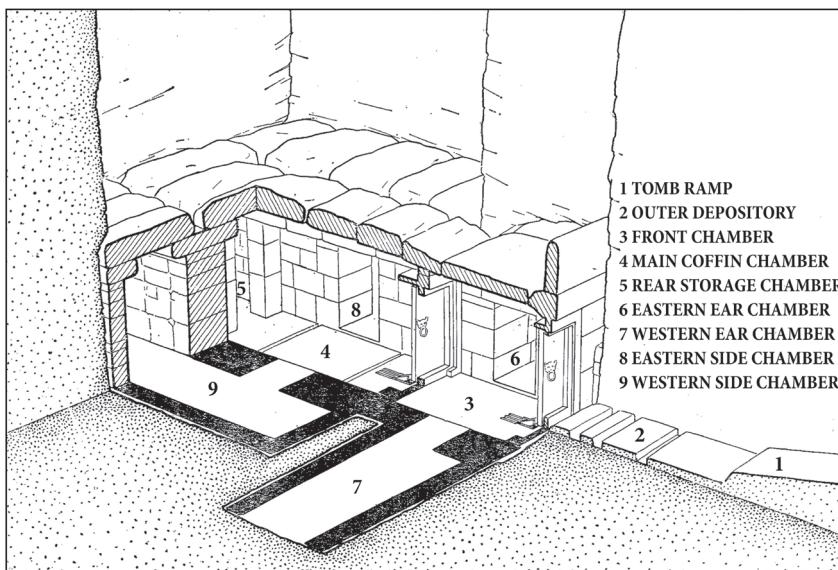


FIGURE 2.19 Perspective drawing of the king of Nanyue's tomb, Guangzhou, Guangdong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Redrawn by Gary Wang and the author after Guangzhou shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui et al., *Xi Han Nanyuewang mu*, 11, fig. 6.

kings selected lower peaks for their burials. Other relatives were buried in the mountain or in the immediate vicinity. Once this system had been established in a local area, it generally remained unchanged.

CONCLUSION

We have now been able to view the development of rock-cut tombs in light of the rich political and social contexts of Emperor Wen's Baling. Through his decisions about the form and site of Baling, Emperor Wen fostered a legitimating image of imperial humaneness; he also promulgated the idea of a well-treated and united clan seen as his supporters. This, we have speculated, may have lent impetus to the kings' desires to include their own styles and their own artisans and to show their own styles of funerary architecture. In the kings' locales, moreover, the emperor fostered important local mountain rituals as a means to communicate this sense of a nation of unified dynastic peers.

The importance of materiality comes into play because the local kings, wishing to emulate Emperor Wen's mountain tomb and its meanings, were

confronted by solid rock (as Emperor Wen's Baling builders likely had not been). There is a chance that their decision to proceed with construction after encountering rock signaled a turning point, as they decided to experiment with new layouts in the horizontal stone caverns. All in all, it was a time, under Emperor Wen's influence, when mountains were becoming invested with funerary importance, ideological and ritual significance, political messages, and even economic benefits.

Many of the developments in tomb architecture can be linked to the specific resources of localities—notably, the geological conditions found in mountains near the kings' capitals. As different conditions were confronted in the provinces, significant innovations arose. The development and sophistication of rock-cut tomb architecture assumed local qualities. Diverse methods of arranging and ornamenting the tomb space and sealing the tomb can be observed among those rock-cut tombs excavated to date. These highlight the substantial innovation that occurred as architectural styles moved from the center to the periphery, at which point the political messages of the mountain-based tomb infiltrated the new genre and the mountains became ever more important economically, politically, and ritually.

Chapter Three

NEW STYLES FROM POLITICAL CHANGE

The Early Han Kings and the Reimagining of Terracotta Armies

In the final months of the year 155 BCE, Liu Biguang 劉辟光, the king of Jinan 濟南, faced a dilemma: stand with his brothers and raise an army in revolt against Han emperor Jing 景帝 (r. 157–141 BCE) or remain loyal to the imperial court and forsake his closest kin. The decision was forced upon him by his brother, Liu Ang 劉卬, the king of Jiaoxi 膠西 (r. 164–154 BCE), who came to him with a plea to join him in staging the revolt. Liu Ang began plotting revolt after another king, Liu Pi 劉濞, king of Wu 吳 (r. 195–154 BCE), enjoined him to protest the imperial court's recent actions against the kings. Emperor Jing, in the king of Wu's view, had come under the sway of a traitorous minister, Chao Cuo 晁錯 (d. 154 BCE), who had wrongly seized the kings' lands for seemingly petty infractions.¹ The king of Wu had been deprived of his most profitable provinces—Yuzhang 豫章 and Kuaiji 會稽—which held his copper mine and his salt industry.² The king of Jiaoxi, a small kingdom, had lost six counties. In addition, the king of Zhao 趙 had lost his Changshan 常山 province,³ and Liu Wu 劉戊, king of Chu 楚 (r. 174–154 BCE), one-third of the provinces under his control.⁴

Truth be told, however, Liu Biguang's assessment of his brother's and the others' cases against the imperial court did not really matter. To refuse to assist his brother, the king of Jiaoxi, would be an act of internecine war, which Liu Biguang was woefully unprepared to wage. Liu Biguang and his four brothers—the kings of Jibei 濟北, Zichuan 蘇川, Jiaoxi, and Jiaodong 膠東—were kings of small, newly created kingdoms that consisted of roughly

a single former Qin commandery, which had been parceled off from the kingdom of Qi 齊 in 164 BCE. These small territories generally were not militarily powerful—with the exception of that of the king of Jiaoxi, who, the histories note, was “courageous, spirited, fond of war, and feared by all of Qi” (勇，好氣，喜兵，諸齊皆憚畏).⁵ For a small king such as Liu Biguang to resist his brother would be an act of war in itself, as his brother Liu Jianglü 劉將闔, king of Qi (r. 164–154 BCE), discovered.⁶

Whether or not he agreed with his brother’s plan, Liu Biguang moved forward and supported the revolt, summarily executing all of the imperially appointed officials in his kingdom in order to gain control of his kingdom’s troops. His brothers—from Jiaoxi, Jiaodong, and Zichuan—did the same.⁷ Before directing their troops westward toward the capital, however, the men first had to attack the kingdom of Qi, whose king had refused to join their revolt. Their combined troops surrounded Qi’s capital city of Linzi 臨淄, but after three months, they still had not taken the city.⁸ At that time, imperial forces arrived, and the kings withdrew their troops and returned to their own kingdoms. Each of the kings who had participated in the revolt—including the king of Jinan—committed suicide in shame.⁹

In recent years, auxiliary pits containing numerous terracotta warrior figures have been excavated from the vicinity of a tomb attributed to the king of Jinan: the Weishan 危山 tomb (figure 3.1).¹⁰ Warrior figures have also been found in the vicinity of three other tombs that are believed to be roughly contemporaneous with the king of Jinan’s tomb: the Shizishan 獅子山 tomb of the king of Chu; the Xiangshan 香山 tomb attributed to the king of Zichuan; and the Shanwangcun 山王村 pit, possibly constructed for a king of Qi (figures 3.2 and 3.3).¹¹ The terracotta army assemblages buried near these four tombs are the only assemblages that have been discovered near royal tombs to date. In contrast, armies were produced throughout the Western Han period (202 BCE–9 CE) for emperors and generals in the imperial capital (table 3.1).

The early Western Han terracotta armies bear many similarities to the terracotta army produced under the command of the Qin dynasty’s First Emperor (r. 221–210 BCE), which has captured the attention of both scholars and the public worldwide since its discovery in the 1970s.¹² Like the Qin terracotta warriors, Han armies were fashioned from clay using molds; many were buried with weapons fashioned from metal or wood. Unlike the Qin army, Han warriors were occasionally interred with other objects, such as attendant figures, sacrificial animals, bronze or ceramic vessels, musical instruments, or other items.¹³



FIGURE 3.1 Aerial view of auxiliary pit 1 of the Weishan tomb, Zhangqiu, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Zhangqiu City Museum.



FIGURE 3.2 Pit 1 of the terracotta army found near Shizishan tomb, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Photograph by the author.

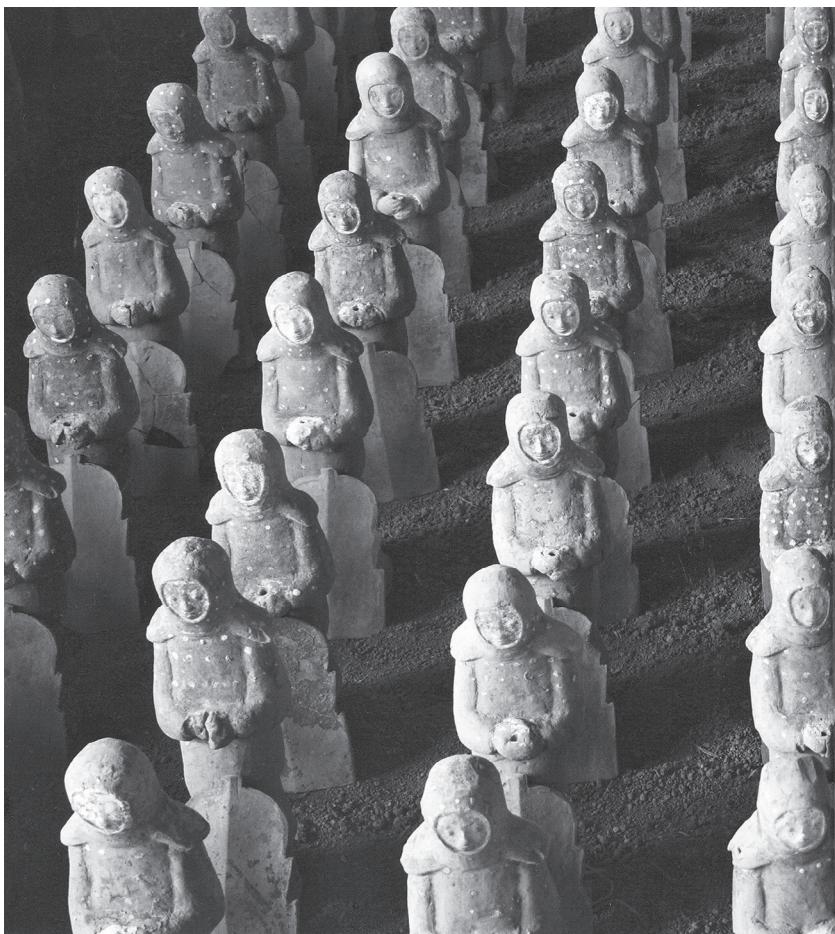


FIGURE 3.3 Painted earthenware soldiers excavated from the Shanwangcun terracotta army pit, Zibo, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

TABLE 3.1
Terracotta armies of the Western Han dynasty

Site	Location	Occupant	Description
1 Shizishan 獅子山	Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu	Attributed to Liu Yingke 劉郢客, King Yi 矢 of Chu 楚 (r. 178–175 BCE) or Liu Wu 劉戊, king of Chu (r. 174–154 BCE)	Six terracotta army pits have been discovered approximately four hundred meters west of the Shizishan tomb. More than 2,300 figures were excavated in initial excavations. Preliminary estimates suggest that five thousand warriors and horse figures were originally interred. Additional pits containing warriors and horse figures, as well as chariots and other items, have been discovered in a separate area of 105–140 pits positioned to the northeast of the Shizishan tomb.
2 Weishan 危山	Zhangqiu 章丘, Shandong	Attributed to Liu Biguang 劉辟光, king of Jinan 濟南 (r. 164–154 BCE)	Three auxiliary pits (1, 2, and 4), an accompanying burial, and three pottery kilns were excavated from Weishan mountain. (The main tomb, still unexcavated, is positioned on the mountain top.) All three auxiliary pits were shallow earthen pits with second-level ledges, upon which wooden boards were placed to protect the pits' contents after burial. Pit 1 contained 172 warriors, fifty-five horses, four chariots, and more than sixty shields, as well as other objects. Pit 2 contained seven figures, a chariot, four horses, and twelve wooden boxes of various sizes. Pit 4 was not preserved.
3 Xiangshan 香山	Qingzhou 青州, Shandong	Attributed to Liu Xian 劉賢, king of Zichuan 蕲川 (r. 164–154 BCE)	One large auxiliary pit, a kiln, and an ash pit were discovered in 2006 near a single-ramp tomb positioned at the base of Mt. Xiang. The auxiliary pit contained a variety of ceramic figures originally placed in wooden boxes and buried in three layers. The ceramic objects included nearly eight hundred human figures, 350 horses, two chariots, as well as roughly 250 domesticated animals. Also buried in the pit were more than six hundred ceramic vessels, as well as bronze and iron weapons.
4 Shanwangcun 山王村	Linzi 臨淄, Shandong	Possibly a king of Qi 齊	A large auxiliary pit measuring (at its base) roughly 15.45 meters long by 3.45 meters wide by 5.2–5.4 meters deep was excavated from a site located roughly 5.5 kilometers southwest of the ancient Qi capital of Linzi. The pit is believed to have belonged to a nearby mounded tomb, which was paved when the Qingdao to Jinan railway (<i>Jiao-Ji tielu</i> 胶濟鐵路) was constructed.

				The pit contained a replica of an aristocratic compound with two <i>que</i> gates and a courtyard manor divided into two spaces. Inside the compound were positioned 319 warrior figures and guards, forty-nine of them mounted on horseback. In addition to these, other human figures including thirteen officials and thirty-four attendants, among others, were found. The pit also contained eleven miniature chariots, two miniature ox carts, as well as figurines of horses, oxen, sheep, pigs, dogs, chickens, and ducks. The entire scene was placed on a dirt floor, protected by a wooden ceiling held up by columns.
5	Yangjiawan 楊家灣	Xianyang 咸陽, Shaanxi	Attributed to Zhou Bo 周勃 (d. 169 BCE) or Zhou Yafu 周亞夫 (d. 149 BCE)	An army consisting of 2,548 figures (583 mounted cavalrymen and 1,965 standing figures) was buried in eleven earthen pits organized in five rows near two tombs that purportedly belonged to the famous early Han generals, Zhou Bo and his son Zhou Yafu. In addition to warrior figures, figures representing officials and entertainers were also found.
6	Yangling 陽陵	Xianyang 咸陽, Shaanxi	Emperor Jing 景帝 (r. 157–141 BCE)	Two army assemblages of twenty-four pits each were buried roughly five hundred meters to the north and south of Emperor Jing's tomb. The northern area has not yet been excavated, but it is identical in layout to the southern area, of which 36 percent has been excavated. (See table 3.2.) Additionally, pit K11, one of the pits that radiated outward from Jingdi's tumulus, contained forty-five wooden horses and forty-one mounted riders.
7	Fengqiyuan 風棲原 tomb 8	Xi'an 西安, Shaanxi	Attributed to Zhang Anshi 張安世 (d. 62 BCE)	In 2008–2009, archaeologists excavated eight tombs, auxiliary pits, and the remains of a sacrificial structure from a clan cemetery positioned near Emperor Xuan's 宣帝 (r. 74–49 BCE) Duling 杜陵. In the center of the cemetery was one large tomb (tomb 8) that was surrounded by six auxiliary pits. To date, three of the auxiliary pits have been excavated. Approximately five hundred “clothed” ceramic warrior figures were excavated from pit 5, together with wooden figures and other items. Another five hundred “clothed” ceramic figures were excavated from pit 6, as well as more than twenty wooden figures and other items. Pit 4 also yielded wooden figures and other items.



FIGURE 3.4 Painted clay warriors excavated from auxiliary pit 1 of the Weishan tomb, Zhangqiu, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Zhangqiu City Museum. Photograph by Gary Wang.

The Han terracotta warriors have not enjoyed the same worldwide fame as have the Qin terracotta warriors. An important reason is the size and style of the figurines. Often described as doll-like, the Han figures are miniatures, mostly ranging from around one-fourth to one-third the height of the Qin warriors. The Han so-called miniatures appear less individualized, without the unique combinations of sculpted mustaches, eyebrows, noses, and elaborate hairstyles so often praised in the Qin figures. For example, the one hundred infantrymen crafted for the king buried in the Weishan tomb appear to have been fashioned from only one set of molds (figure 3.4). All the figures wear midlength robes and caps and appear flat from the side. Larger Han assemblages feature infantry armies created from relatively more mold sets; for example, at Shizishan, fourteen types of figures were created by mixing and matching four basic heads with seven types of bodies (figure 3.5).¹⁴ A limited repertoire of molds was also used for the Qin terracotta warriors. However, Qin figures were composites of a much higher number of parts so that even small components like mustaches were created individually in molds. The multitude of combinations created by assembling such parts and hand-working them created the impression of individuated figures, an impression lacking in many of the Han warriors.¹⁵



FIGURE 3.5 Painted earthenware infantry soldiers excavated from the terracotta army pits near the Shizishan tomb in Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Height 42.5 cm (16.7 in). Courtesy of the Xuzhou Museum.

Discussing the Han terracotta armies raises an important question: if Qin artisans had achieved an understanding of the body that enabled them to produce exquisite, full-size, lifelike sculptures, why did this sculptural achievement not continue into the Han? This chapter explores several factors that may account for this change in the form of terracotta armies during the Western Han dynasty. These include a new political environment, in which large monuments that relied heavily on people's labor were no longer in vogue; the rise of local kingdoms that wanted to show off their cultural sophistication; and shifts away from infantry warfare. These dynamic social, political, and military changes can account not only for the new style of early Western Han tomb figures but also for the eventual decline of terracotta armies in royal tombs and the introduction of Emperor Jing's own proprietary style of funerary figurine. The following discussion will demonstrate that terracotta armies were not merely funerary objects designed to be placed in the tomb for symbolic purposes, as has been believed in the past, but were also social objects, designed to represent their patron's status relative to other elites in the empire and the patron's relationship to his or her

people, who in fact were the recruits represented by the armies. Although what was created under the First Emperor of Qin was taken seriously and influenced the Western Han, the Western Han artisans transformed that precedent according to their own needs, as defined by the specific social, political, and military circumstances of the day.

THE GENEALOGY OF A SCULPTURAL TRADITION

To understand the rise and the eventual disappearance of royal terracotta armies in the early Han, the first question to be addressed is one of genealogy. Should we regard the Han armies as heirs to the Qin sculptural tradition? Did the miniaturization of figures in the Han represent a conscious choice (implying a rejection of a Qin precedent)? Or were early Han artisans simply continuing an even older tradition of miniature burial figurines that had come down from the Zhou (1045–256 BCE),¹⁶ unaware of the technical innovations made under the Qin emperor?

Concerning this issue, Lukas Nickel has provocatively argued that Han figurines were not heirs of the Qin legacy and that sculpture was not a major medium in the Han:

Even if the First Emperor initiated figurative art on such a grand scale, he did not establish an artistic tradition. Although in the following centuries many tombs contained figurines, these were generally smaller and showed summaric features. No sculptures comparable in their artistic accomplishment to the terracotta warriors have been found.¹⁷

The size and style of the Han warriors, he argues, indicate that they ought not be considered as heirs to the Qin legacy. Instead, the Han figures merely revived the miniature figurine tradition established during Zhou times. In Nickel's view, sculpture would only become a major focus of Chinese art centuries later with the onset of Buddhism.

The majority of early Western Han figurines do differ, especially in terms of size, from the Qin terracotta warriors. However, there are also similarities that constitute clear-cut evidence that the Han terracotta figurines were influenced by the Qin. To answer scholars like Nickel, I want to introduce an argument related to descent, which can come into play in the analysis of artistic traditions. In this section, I will describe five factors that support the conclusion that the Han figurines did descend from the Qin tradition. The five factors are (1) the theme of the sculptures;

(2) the quantity of figures manufactured; (3) the position of Qin and Han army pits relative to the tomb; (4) their method of manufacture; and (5) the close temporal proximity between Qin and early Han.

The first area of commonality between the Qin and Han terracotta armies is the similarity of subject matter—namely, both feature an array of warriors. More than merely an accidental similarity, we note a strong and decisive shift from the Zhou remains to those of the Qin. Prior to the Qin, no ruler had ever ordered a terracotta army to be buried near his tomb. The closest example of a pre-Qin military-themed figurine is a pair of small, hand-sculpted, earthenware equestrian figures discovered in a cemetery at Ta'erpo 塔兒坡 and dated to the fourth century BCE (figure 3.6).¹⁸ However, two figures hardly constitute an army. So, it may be said that the Han era's buried figurines pointedly continued the Qin's breakthrough in portraying a full army using sculpted figurines.



FIGURE 3.6 Painted earthenware figures on horseback, excavated from Ta'erpo tomb 28057 in Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Warring States period (480–221 BCE). Left: height 22.6 cm (8.9 in), length 18.4 cm (7.2 in). Right: height 22.3 cm (8.8 in), length 18 cm (7.1 in). Xianyang Institute of Archaeology. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

A second area of commonality between the Qin and the Han warriors is the large number of manufactured figures. Prior to the Qin, there had never been a tradition of fabricating large numbers of figurines for burial in a tomb. Eastern Zhou (770–256 BCE) tombs with large numbers of figurines, such as Zhaiziling 賽子嶺 tomb 1 in Hunan or the tomb at Nülangshan 女郎山 in Zhangqiu 章丘, Shandong—contain only sixty-seven and thirty-eight figurines, respectively—far fewer than the estimated seven thousand figures prepared for the Qin terracotta army.¹⁹ With their hundreds and often thousands of clay figurines, the Han terracotta armies directly build on the precedent of the Qin.

A third similarity between Qin- and Han-era interred armies is that they were all buried in pits outside of the main tomb (figure 3.7). By comparison, Zhou-era figurines were nearly always buried inside the tomb.

Fourth, we can observe undeniable connections in the ways Qin and Han figurines were manufactured. All pre-Qin earthenware figures excavated to date were hand-formed.²⁰ The Han warriors, in contrast, were fabricated in the same manner as the First Emperor's figurines: by assembling, hand-finishing, and painting prefabricated parts, which were largely created through the use of molds. Like the Qin warriors, the Han warriors were also mixed-media creations. They were principally sculpted from clay, but they were often designed to hold weapons fashioned from metal or wood, as were the Qin figures. Also, while the majority of the early Han sculptures were substantially less naturalistic than those of Qin production, the figures manufactured for the fourth Western Han emperor—namely, those for Emperor Jing's tomb at Yangling 陽陵 and those discovered near the tomb attributed to general Zhang Anshi 張安世 (d. 62 BCE) at Fengqiyuan 風棲原—might be regarded as important negative evidence as, to the contrary, they do show strong naturalism (figure 3.8).²¹ In these tomb warriors, we observe roughly the same level of attention to muscle and bone structure that we see in the Qin terracotta warriors (figure 3.9). While the Yangling figurines certainly show differences from Qin styles and values—such as Yangling figures' wooden arms and real clothing—the connection with the sculptural tradition of the First Emperor is undeniable.

Finally, another factor that connects the Qin and Han terracotta armies is simply their closeness in time. As Wu Hung has pointed out, the Han-dynasty Yangling figurines, which were created after the kings' armies, “were made not long after the Qin [terracotta] warriors in the Xianyang-Chang'an area, when the memory of creating thousands of life-sized statues must still have been alive in that region.”²² The figurines at Shizishan, Weishan, and Xiangshan are all believed to have been interred in 154 BCE

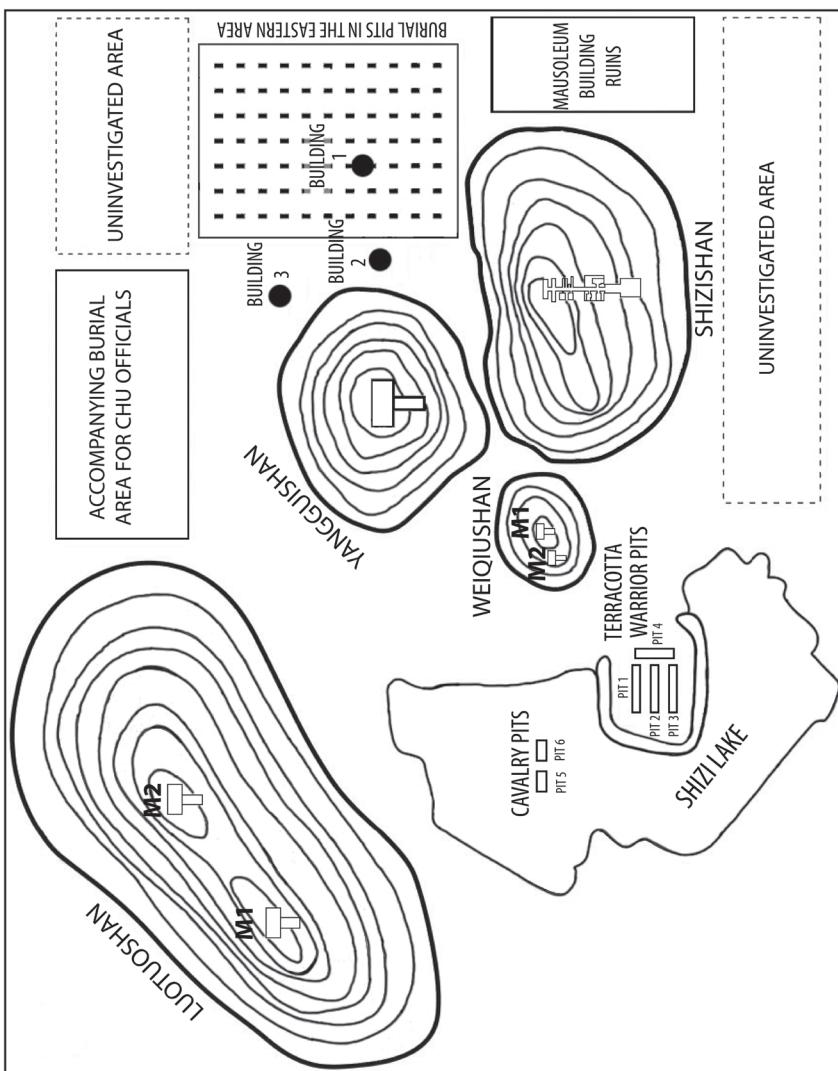


FIGURE 3.7 Map of the Shizishan mausoleum complex, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, showing the position of the terracotta army pits relative to the Shizishan tomb. Redrawn by the author and Gary Wang after Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu and Xuzhou Chuwang ling Han bingmayong bowuguan, *Shizishan Chuwang ling*, 140–141.

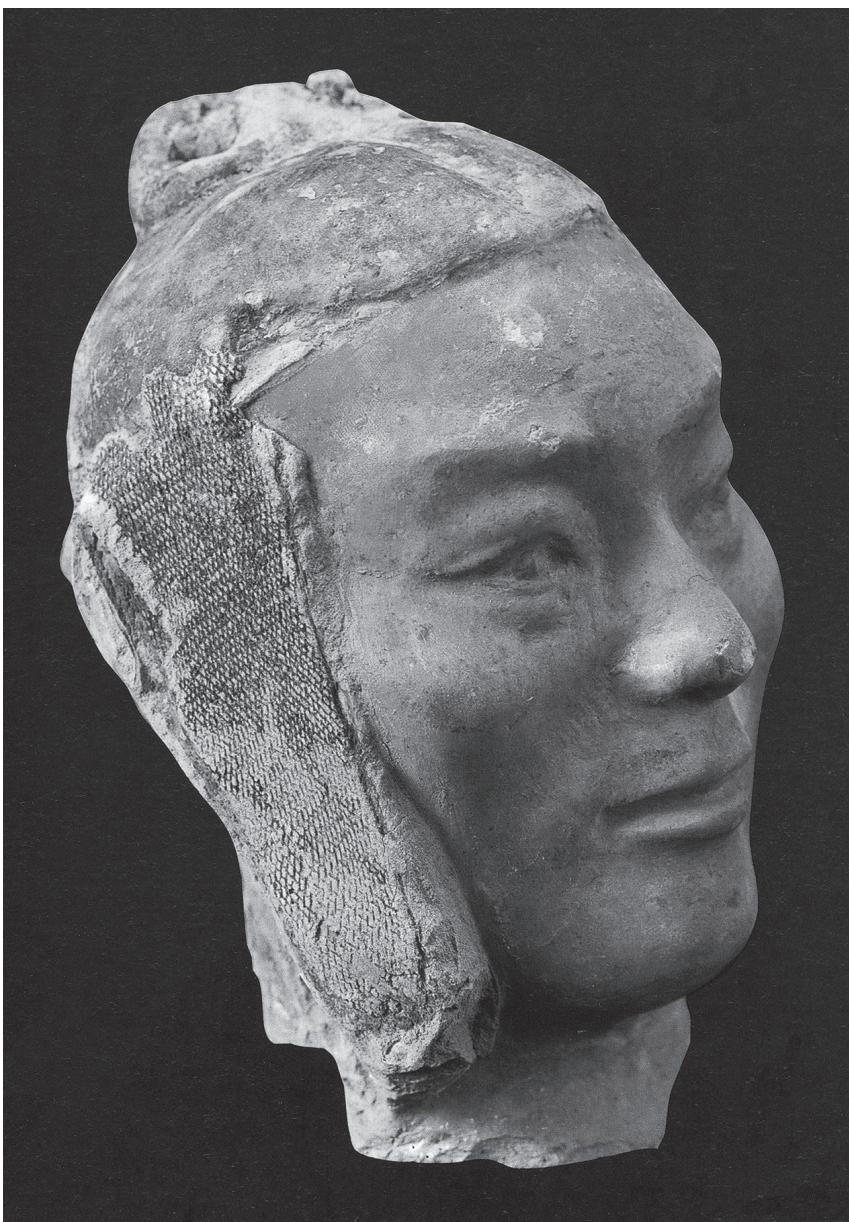


FIGURE 3.8 Painted earthenware warrior head fragment with traces of a fabric hat, excavated from auxiliary pit 20 in the southern area of Emperor Jing's Yangling mausoleum, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Chongqing Press.



FIGURE 3.9 Archer statue excavated from the terracotta army pits in the First Emperor's mausoleum, Lintong, Shaanxi province, Qin dynasty (221–207 BCE). Photograph courtesy of Gary Wang.

after the death or suicide of their patrons in the Seven Kingdoms Revolt. Some studies have dated another Han tomb site with a terracotta army buried nearby, Yangjiawan 楊家灣, to as early as 169 BCE—only forty-one years after the death of the Qin First Emperor in 210 BCE (figure 3.10).²³ All these bring early Western Han figurine production closer and closer to the Qin. Given this temporal association, it is unlikely that Han artisans were utterly unaware of the impressive Qin sculptural tradition. Moreover, as Nickel himself has acknowledged, some of the colossal bronze statues produced by the First Emperor of Qin from the melted-down weapons of conquered states stood in Xianyang until the fourth century CE, well after the fall of the Han.²⁴



FIGURE 3.10 Painted earthenware warrior and cavalry figures excavated from Yangjiawan, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han, second century BCE. National Museum of China. Photograph by the author.

PRIOR THEORIES FOR THE MINIATURIZATION OF HAN TERRACOTTA ARMIES

If early Han rulers had the capacity to produce life-size, naturalistic figures, why didn't they? It might be tempting to think that miniaturization was pursued for economic reasons. However, as Wu Hung rightly points out, "this reason hardly explains why *no* Han emperor ever attempted life-sized figurines, even after the initial years of the dynasty when they had accumulated much wealth."²⁵ I agree with Wu that Han emperors were not less wealthy than those of the Qin, but I argue that they were more interested in public opinion and less interested in intimidating their viewers.

Wu has proposed another reason for the Han choice to miniaturize, arguing that the artistic goals of representation shifted between Qin and Han times. Specifically, the Han aimed to create a fully "fictional" world. According to Wu, the strongest evidence for this was that everything in the tomb was miniaturized—not only the figures and domestic animals but also furniture, pots, etc.

We wonder why such tiny imitations were painstakingly made according to a uniform scale of reduction. The answer must be found in the specific artistic goals of the *miniature*. . . . Buried underground, the miniatures in Yangling and other Han tombs not only "substituted" for the real human world, but constituted a world free from the natural laws of the human world, thereby extending life in perpetuity.²⁶

The Han pursued miniaturization, Wu claims, because this was the only way artisans could fashion a fully fictional world underground where all aspects of the deceased's material reality could be represented. Not only do I disagree with the notion that the Han artisans aimed to create a fictional world with its own laws, but it is also not, in fact, the case that everything in Han tombs was miniaturized according to the same scale. To the contrary, Han patrons often placed full-size items in the tomb together with miniaturized items or deliberately varied the scale of figures relative to one another to convey their status.

In a representative pit from the Shizishan tomb, for example, a large group of miniature female maidservants, many of whom appear to be carrying small children in their arms, and a group of four miniature horses were placed next to a full-size lacquerware table and a wide array of full-size bronze vessels (figures 3.11 and 3.12).²⁷ As had often occurred in Zhou times, figurines in the pit were miniaturized whereas vessels and furniture items were depicted full-size.

This phenomenon was not unique to the Shizishan tomb. At Emperor Jing's Yangling necropolis, too, real items were mixed with full-size and miniature works. Emperor Jing's tumulus was surrounded by eighty-six pits laid out in a radial pattern (figure 3.13). Pit 13, one of the longest excavated to



FIGURE 3.11 Pit in the eastern area of the Shizishan mausoleum containing bronze food containers, a lacquerware table, and figures, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu bowuguan.



FIGURE 3.12 Female maidservant figurines carrying infants. Excavated from the pit shown in figure 3.11, Shizishan mausoleum, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu bowuguan.

date, contained a mixture of full-size and miniature elements (figure 3.14). In the eastern part of the pit were more than seven hundred miniature domesticated animals, including pigs, sheep, goats, and dogs in a variety of colors, buried in two layers. In the western half of the pit, excavators found fifty-five large, full-size vats of grain as well as two full-size chariots with full-size wooden horses.²⁸ In the Han, mixed scales of representation were often employed. Sometimes real items were used, while at other times full-size or reduced-size replicas were deployed.

We not only observe a nonuniform scale among objects placed in Han tombs, but we also see deliberate manipulation of scale to differentiate the relative status of various figurines. This is most clearly evident in the heights of warriors within the same pit. Generally speaking, rank was expressed through figurine height: the more important the figure, the taller it is. In the Shizishan army, for example, unarmored infantrymen, figures of the lowest rank, stood roughly 42 centimeters (16.5 inches) tall. Infantry officers and middle-rank officers were the next tallest men in the pits, at 47.5 centimeters (18.7 inches)

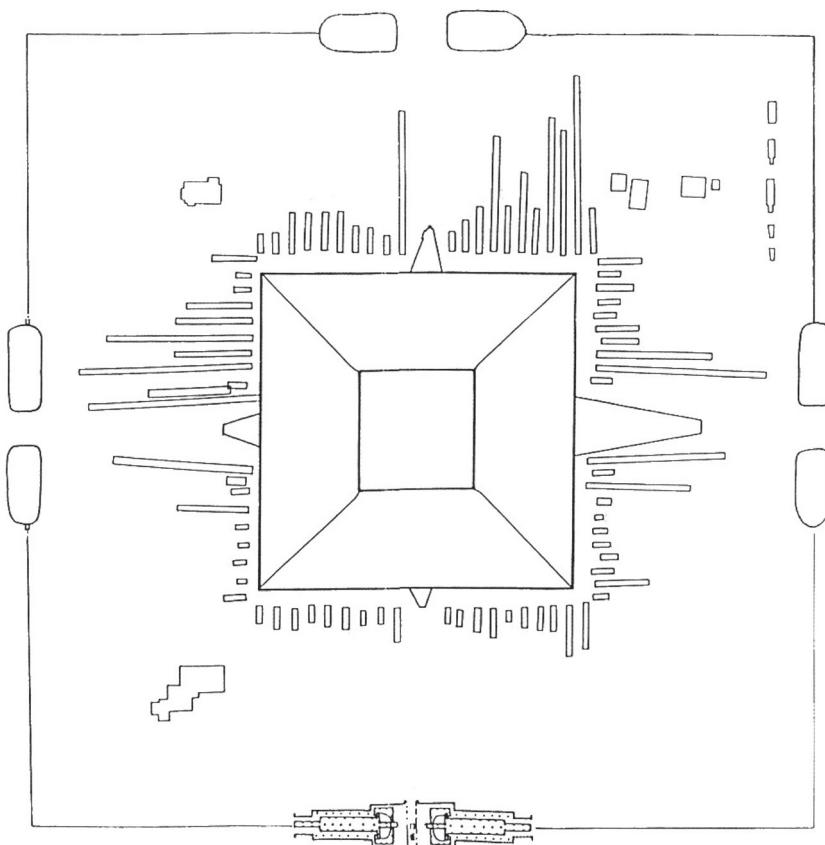


FIGURE 3.13 Excavation map of Emperor Jing's mausoleum, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han, second century BCE. Redrawn by Gary Wang after Han Yangling bowuguan, *Han Yangling*, 14, fig. 6.

and 48.5 centimeters (19.1 inches), respectively. The highest-ranking commander in the army stood 54 centimeters (21.3 inches) tall, or 12 centimeters (4.7 inches) taller than the low-ranking infantrymen (figure 3.15).²⁹ He originally stood on a command chariot, towering above the other men.³⁰

The same correlation between height and military status can also be observed in the other armies. At Yangjiawan, both soldiers and equestrian figures were created in two sizes. Mounted cavalrymen were either 68 centimeters (26.8 inches) or 50 centimeters (19.7 inches) in height (figure 3.16). Standing warriors were either 48.5 centimeters (19.1 inches) or 44.5 centimeters (17.5 inches) in height.³¹ Although only limited data is available for the

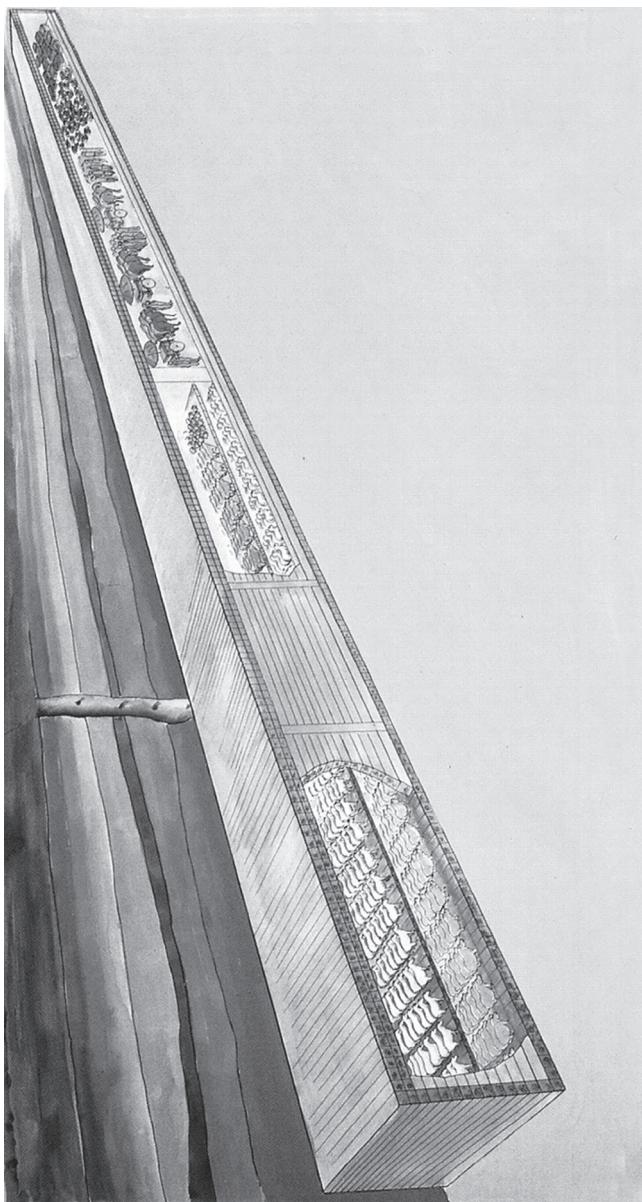


FIGURE 3.14 Reconstruction of auxiliary pit 13, located to the east of Emperor Jing's tumulus at Yangling, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 3.15 General figure in the center of pit 1 of the terracotta army pits in the Shizishan mausoleum in Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Height 54 cm (21.3 in). Courtesy of Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu bowuguan.



FIGURE 3.16 Painted earthenware cavalrymen figurines from Yangjiawan, Xianyang, Shaanxi province in two sizes, Western Han, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

Xiangshan site, initial reports indicate that the largest standing figures stood 20 centimeters (7.9 inches) taller than the smallest.³² Similarly, at Shanwangcun, three commanding officers who stand 41.5–42.5 centimeters (16.3–16.7 inches) in height appear to tower over the infantry soldiers depicted at 29.5 and 32.6 centimeters (11.6–12.8 inches) tall.³³

Such privileging of certain figures above others by varying the scale may have originated earlier in the Qin. In the First Emperor's mausoleum, there were important differences in the size of figures buried in different pits across the mausoleum. For example, stable pits with stablemen that stood approximately 190 centimeters (6.2 feet) tall and wore official caps were found in pits located within the inner and outer walls of the mausoleum. Yuan Zhongyi has proposed that these inner and outer precinct stables represented the imperial stables located in the capital city that contained horses exclusively used by the emperor or his household. A third stable pit, found roughly three hundred and sixty meters (.2 miles) east of the outer mausoleum wall, contained uncapped stablemen that were substantially shorter. Kneeling, they measured only 66–72 centimeters (2.2–2.4 feet)



FIGURE 3.17 Painted clay figures on horseback in the vanguard of the Weishan terracotta army, Zhangqiu, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Zhangqiu City Museum. Photograph by Gary Wang.

in height, which means that standing they would measure approximately 116–126 centimeters (3.8–4.1 feet) tall. Yuan has proposed that the figures, with mustaches on their upper lips, represented young boys. Given the size disparity, however, it is also possible that a reduced scale was used to represent the lower status of these stables, which Yuan has argued, were the stables outside of the capital that provided horses for ordinary capital chariots and cavalrymen.³⁴

Scale was not the only method used to indicate a warrior's relative status. In the Weishan army, less sculptural attention was lavished on the infantry soldiers than on other figures such as the chariot drivers or the equestrian figures that led the ensemble (figures 3.17 and 3.18). The former appear flat and less sculpted, particularly when compared with the billowing sleeves of the leading equestrian figures.

Thus, the reasons past scholars have offered for the miniaturization of terracotta army figures in the Han do not stand up to the evidence. Miniaturization cannot be linked to a less economically well-off administration, nor to the goal of creating a more uniform, naturalistic environment and populating a comprehensive fictional world underground. Instead, the buried Han armies highlighted certain individuals and army components over others, continuing representational impulses that had begun in the Qin while taking them in new directions.



FIGURE 3.18 Horse-led chariot from the terracotta army found in auxiliary pit 1 of the Weishan tomb, Zhangqiu, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Zhangqiu City Museum. Photograph by Gary Wang.

UNDERSTANDING THE MINIATURIZATION TREND

Why, then, were Han armies miniaturized? In the following sections, I present four reasons. Each of these reasons treats the terracotta figures as objects that exerted agency on their contemporary society before being sealed in the tomb. Figurines were not merely objects placed in tombs to serve their patrons in the world beyond. Their production and display had implications not only for the patrons who commissioned them but also for a broad range of people who produced these objects, viewed them directly, or even were just aware of their existence.

The Political Cost of Burial Figurines in the Han

The first reason that terracotta army figures were miniaturized during the Han is political. As discussed in chapter 1, the Han was unlike the Qin in that its empire was no longer governed through one monarch in the capital. Instead, the administration was shared between the emperor and the kings. This administrative setup yielded kings who played not only a supportive

role in the empire but also a competitive one. Should the emperor overstep his bounds in actions or laws that caused discontent among either the people or the kings, these groups might revolt, as occurred in the Seven Kingdoms Revolt of 154 BCE.

Under these conditions, the early Han emperors were highly wary of projects that required excessive manpower, fearing that demanding too much of the people's labor might produce a revolt, as it had under the First Emperor of Qin. For example, Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 202–195 BCE), the founding emperor of the Han, heavily criticized his chief minister for constructing the royal palace in too lavish a fashion while he, the emperor, was away fighting battles.³⁵ Similarly, as detailed in chapter 2, the fourth emperor of the Han, Emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE), won the people's support by declaring himself to be a "frugal emperor" who did not require the people's labor for his tomb. Thus, it was not so much that Han emperors could not afford larger tomb figurines; they just did not want to compromise the people's support in order to have these appurtenances made.

Like the emperors, the local kings also were highly concerned with maintaining their own people's support; politically, they could not afford to require large amounts of corvée labor to construct tomb figurines, mounds, and pits. As the *Shiji* describes, "When the empire was first stabilized, in the commanderies and kingdoms, each of the kings devoted himself to appeasing his people" (天下初定，郡國諸侯各務自拊循其民).³⁶ The kings are in fact recorded as having passed laws to attract people to their kingdoms. The king of Wu, for example, eliminated taxes in his state to entice newcomers.³⁷

As a result, during the early Han, not only were the terracotta warriors reduced in scale, but imperial tumuli were also smaller, as were the parks and walls surrounding them. To give an example, the tumulus that topped the First Emperor of Qin's tomb measured 515 by 485 meters, exceeding the area of the tumulus of the Han founder, Emperor Gaozu, by a factor of eleven.³⁸ Han burials were simply reduced in grandeur across the board.

Creating smaller figurines was not only a matter of reducing production costs. Significant savings were also realized by reducing the size of the pits in which they were situated. To use the Qin and Han imperial tombs as an example, whereas pit 1 of the First Emperor's terracotta army measured 230 meters long by 62 meters wide by 4.5–6.5 meters deep, a large pit (pit 20) from the southern area of Yangling measured (excluding the ramps) only 29.49 meters long by 4.5 meters wide by 8 meters deep.³⁹ That means that in the Han, workers would only have had to remove approximately one

thousand cubic meters of earth to build one of the largest pits in the southern area of Yangling, as compared to roughly seventy-eight thousand cubic meters of earth for pit 1 of the First Emperor's terracotta army.⁴⁰ Whereas the First Emperor's tomb would have required thousands of laborers, each pit constructed at Yangling could have been excavated by a much smaller labor force.

New Audiences

That miniaturization was politically driven can only be part of the explanation. After all, if elites truly wanted to pursue frugality for the sake of their political image, they need not have created representations of their armies at all. To get closer to a reasoned explanation for this turn in practice and style, we need to consider the audience for whom these works were produced and the message that early patrons wanted them to convey.

One of the first ways that the Han context differed from the Qin was in terms of *who* the royal and other elites thought of as viewers of their funerary figures and what effect they wanted the works to produce. Early Han-era patrons of art and buildings constructed figurines for different audiences and had different goals concerning their figurines' effect and impact. First, let's look at the audience and the representational goals of the First Emperor of Qin's tomb. Subsequently, we will consider how the Han context compares with this.

The First Emperor's Lishan 麟山 or Mt. Li mausoleum was part of a larger effort on the part of the emperor to convince the population of his godlike nature and omnipotence. Many of the emperor's public projects supported this goal. His temple, for example, was named the Pole Star Temple (*ji miao* 極廟) after the Heavenly Apex star at the center of the heavens: he would be the one god around which everything in the universe revolved.⁴¹ His decision to select his own posthumous title and to design and commission his own tomb during his lifetime can also be linked to this effort. Previously, tombs and posthumous titles had been planned by the surviving family or political successor.⁴² By building the tomb during his living reign and setting his posthumous title in advance, the First Emperor changed people's perception of his government. As Ladislav Kesner has argued, "it was during and through the long process of the project's coming into existence that the very order it strove to represent was being established and embodied in the first place."⁴³

But power did not reside only in the person of the emperor. How did the design and style of the terracotta warriors glorify both the First Emperor's

powerful army and his effective bureaucracy? As Martin Powers has argued, the naturalism observed in the terracotta warriors' life-size aspect communicated the structure of the Qin administration—namely, that advancement through the Qin system was based on the facts of one's self, body, and performance rather than on one's birth.⁴⁴ Thus, the emperor produced a monument that asserted his claim to have “possessed a mighty army” comprised of individual citizens whom he had effectively trained, and the naturalness and verity of each warrior's face, body, stance, and armaments provided factual verification for this claim. It was a bureaucratic inventory of the Qin's military power. Further, the representation of the emperor's army glorified not only the army itself but also the bureaucratic system of administration, which had organized the army, given order to the empire, and created the terracotta army to be a witness to that order. In other words, the terracotta army commemorated the emperor's past and present ability to command labor by using bureaucratic theory.

If we accept this interpretation, then we must ask who the audience of the Qin First Emperor's terracotta army was. It is often believed that the work had no audience except the deceased emperor himself. Yet, the tomb—in process of production—was more public than is often assumed. Consider the location. It was positioned a good distance outside of the capital city, along the route that stretched from the Container Valley Pass (*Hangu guan* 函谷關) to the capital city—the primary entrance into the capital from the eastern part of the empire.⁴⁵ A city was built near the tomb, with the same name as the tomb itself, to house not only the workers but also the more than thirty thousand elite families that had been moved there from other states.⁴⁶ This city was referred to as Mt. Li Tomb City, directly referencing the fact that the First Emperor's tomb was in the process of being constructed there.⁴⁷

The number of workers involved in the First Emperor's Mt. Li project was so great that it is impossible to believe the project could have remained a secret. According to the histories, this was a sizable population. The *Shiji* records that more than seven hundred thousand “mutilated or banished criminals” (*tuxingzhe* 徒刑者) were involved in building the First Emperor's tomb and his Afang palace.⁴⁸ Gideon Shelach has recently argued that the total number of people involved in the project would have exceeded this number if the skilled workers, artisans, and supervisors are considered as well.⁴⁹

It is often thought that the artisans who built the First Emperor's tomb were all buried in the tomb. However, this is not supported by the histories. The only artisans buried in the tomb were those who carried the treasures

into the main tomb or who had produced the tomb's crossbow booby-traps.⁵⁰ The histories also record that there was a large network of individuals whose job it was to transport laborers from distant regions to the capital.⁵¹ One of these individuals was the Han founder, Liu Bang 劉邦; he started his revolt after losing some convicts in the mountains as he brought them from the south to work on the First Emperor's tomb.⁵²

Therefore, the First Emperor's Mt. Li Tomb, with the thousands of workers involved in its production, a city named after it, and its location on the main road into the capital, was not a secret project. It should not surprise us, then, that in mid-Western Han, when Sima Qian's *Records of the Grand Historian* or *Shiji*, was written, the contents of the First Emperor's tomb could still be described.⁵³ Of the components of the project, the terracotta army pits may have been more accessible to the general public than other areas of the tomb because they were outside the tomb walls, more than 1.5 kilometers east of the burial mound.⁵⁴ In fact, evidence from the site suggests that during the Qin-Han interregnum, Xiang Yu 項羽 had no difficulty locating the pits in order to desecrate them.⁵⁵

Because of its size and the way it was produced, the First Emperor's tomb would have had as its main audience the empire at large. However, most people would not have viewed the monument directly, but rather learned of the scope of the project by word of mouth.⁵⁶ Those who did interact with the site as it was being produced may have seen some of the terracotta warriors but may not have been able to see them placed, as an army, in the pits. But even if they saw only a small group of soldiers—as is often the case, for example, when the warriors travel to North America for exhibition—viewers would only have needed to be told that thousands were being manufactured in order to gain an understanding of the overwhelming scope of the project. As a result, it was not a project whose main viewers would have likely seen the warriors as we see them now. To the contrary, the project was designed so that even if only a few warriors were viewed, the impact would still have been monumental.

During the early Western Han period, the audiences for terracotta armies differed. As discussed in chapter 1, tombs continued to be designed to represent elite identity and status. However, imperial and local rulers, traditionally accustomed to commanding large amounts of resources, became more conscious of the implications of overusing corvée labor for their memorials. As figurine pits became reduced in scale, it is unlikely that so many individuals from the general population would have heard about or viewed such sites, since the latter often did not require large numbers of people to construct.

On a provincial level, archaeological evidence indicates that the audience of Han local kings' funerary pits would have been principally elites and officials. The front chamber of the early Han Shizishan tomb, which likely belonged to Liu Wu 劉戊, king of Chu (r. 174–154 BC), for example, contained more than eighty clay seal impressions that had accompanied gifts presented by representatives from counties within and outside of Chu, as well as by Chu court officials, testifying to the presence of these individuals at his funeral and at the tomb.⁵⁷ The Beidongshan 北洞山 tomb, also the tomb of a Chu king, similarly contained fourteen seals that had accompanied objects presented by local officials.⁵⁸

Large crowds often assembled at elite funerals of this type. During the Han and especially during the Eastern Han, funeral throngs were viewed as an indication of the high status of the deceased and his or her family, as well as evidence of a sort of ardent loyalty and a commitment to ideals held in common. For example, in an episode recorded in the *Shiji*, a rich man from Anling 安陵 once criticized a Han minister, Yuan Ang 袁盎, for fraternizing with a rough type from the provinces named Ju Meng 劇孟. Yuan Ang replied, “Ju Meng may be a gambler, but when his mother died, the mourning guests accompanying the funeral counted some thousand chariots. He therefore, has something that exceeds that of common men” (劇孟雖博徒，然母死，客送葬車千餘乘，此亦有過人者).⁵⁹ Similarly, thirty thousand people reputedly attended the funeral of a scholar from a well-known and respected Henan family named Chen Shi 陳寔 (104–187 CE); Chen had been purged from office during the Eastern Han “Proscription of Literati Factionalists” (166–184 CE).⁶⁰ If several thousand chariots were present at the funeral of a well-connected gambler, we can only imagine the numbers of people that might attend the funeral of a king or an emperor. In the imperial burial of the frugal Emperor Wen, we know that thirty-one thousand men were deployed to bury the emperor and seal the tomb.⁶¹ Thus, the Han terracotta pits would have likely been designed to be viewed at the funeral by a wide range of elite guests.⁶²

New Representational Goals

Another factor that strongly affected the form of terracotta army figurines during the Han were the new modes of warfare that emerged during that period. Between the Qin and the Han, warfare in great measure shifted from battles organized around infantry soldiers to skirmishes on horseback,

requiring well-trained cavalrymen and horses. Research by Yang Hong and Li Li has demonstrated that, for the majority of the states during the earlier Warring States period, cavalry comprised no more than 1 percent of an army's total forces.⁶³ This situation persisted into the Qin. In the First Emperor's tomb, thousands of infantrymen were depicted, whereas only 108 horsemen have been found. The majority of the horsemen were positioned together on the left side of pit 2, behind a group of infantrymen and three rows of chariots.⁶⁴ Although they represented an independent military force, at this point chariots were still primary; cavalry horses represented special forces.

A pivotal point in the transition to cavalry warfare occurred in the battles between Xiang Yu and Liu Bang after the fall of the Qin. Many of the great generals of this period were cavalry generals—for example, Zhou Bo 周勃, Guan Ying 灌嬰, Ji Xin 紀信, Han Xin 韓信, Zhang Liang 張良, and Xiao He 蕭何.⁶⁵ Cavalry warfare played a decisive role in the final confrontation between the Han and Chu armies after the battle of Gaixia 峩下, when Xiang Yu, accompanied by eight hundred horsemen, broke out of the Han army's siege and escaped in the middle of the night.⁶⁶ When the Han army realized he had escaped, five thousand horsemen were sent to pursue him, resulting in Xiang Yu's defeat and suicide.⁶⁷ From that point onward, the cavalry would assume a key role in the Han army, as evidenced by the numerous specially named positions for cavalry generals, such as Cavalry General (*ji jiang* 騎將), Commander of a Thousand Cavalry Men (*jiqian renjiang* 騕千人將), Commandant of the Cavalry (*qidu weijiang* 騕都尉將), and Cavalry Chief (*qi zhang* 騕長).⁶⁸

The value of cavalry troops in the early Han was heightened not only by their sheer utility and effect but also by their scarcity. Historical records indicate that horses were essential in the early Han, but also extremely hard to obtain. When the Han founder, Emperor Gaozu, was deciding whether to make his capital at Luoyang 洛陽 or Chang'an 長安, Zhang Liang convinced him that proximity to the north (where horses were abundant) made Chang'an a more desirable location.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, despite the proximity to the north, the histories note that “the son of Heaven himself could not find four horses of the same color to draw his carriage (and) many of his generals and prime ministers were reduced to riding about in ox carts” (自天子不能具鈞駟，而將相或乘牛車).⁷⁰ (Oxcarts modeled in clay, were, in fact, part of the Shanwangcun army assemblage).⁷¹

Given the value of horses, horse ownership was an aspiration of the rich and powerful in the early Han. Merchants, for example, desired horses, but were prohibited from riding them.⁷² Kings also desired horses and sometimes

requested permission to purchase a horse from the imperial capital if they could not raise or acquire their own horses. In the *Ordinances on Fords and Passes*, a section of the *Statutes and Ordinances of the Second Year*, excavated from Zhangjiashan 張家山 tomb 247, the prime minister of the Changsha 長沙 kingdom sent a written request to the capital to purchase horses to provide for the kingdom's postal-relay and official conveyance stations. According to the request, because Changsha was "low and damp," they could not "outfit a single quadriga of horses" and did not have "any horses to pull official conveyances."⁷³ Similar requests for horses were submitted by representatives from Empress Lü's 呂皇后 (r. 187–180 BCE) bath town, which was located in a kingdom, as well as by a "Lord of Lu (*Lu hou* 魯侯)," who resided in the capital, and several of his ministers.⁷⁴

Although in special cases the capital allowed kings to purchase horses, the general policies of the court were designed to prevent horses from leaving the capital region. Prior to Emperor Wen's reign, a passport had to be presented for each horse at checkpoint stations set up at the capital passes.⁷⁵ (As detailed in chapter 1, the passport system was temporarily abolished during Emperor Wen's reign.) Emperor Wen adopted other strategies to collect horses in the capital. Specifically, the emperor permitted chariot and cavalry horses to be donated to the imperial court in exchange for a waiver of three men's worth of corvée labor.⁷⁶ It was only during the reign of Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 141–87 BCE), later during the Western Han, that horses became abundant, in part because of the importation of foreign horses and the establishment of imperial stud farms on the frontier.⁷⁷

The shortage of horses in the early Han meant that when the Seven Kingdoms Revolt occurred in 154 BCE, a strong cavalry provided a significant advantage. We do not know how many cavalry troops most armies had at this time; however, it is recorded that the southeastern kingdom of Wu's lack of cavalrymen greatly concerned the king. In fact, a young general is recorded to have devised an alternate strategy of attack for infantry-reliant Wu because, as he observed, the Han armies were much faster and more powerful thanks to their many chariots and cavalrymen.⁷⁸

The high value attached to horses during the Han meant that patrons sought to create figurines that emphasized these special forces. As a result, in Han terracotta armies excavated to date, the cavalry figures represented a much larger percentage of an army's total forces. Of the eleven army pits at Yangjiawan, six represented the cavalry, four represented the infantry, and one pit contained war chariots.⁷⁹ Similarly, at Shizishan, two out of the six

pits contained exclusively mounted warriors (figure 3.19).⁸⁰ At Shanwangcun, forty-nine cavalrymen were positioned together with five war chariots at the front of the pit, representing 19 percent of the army's total warriors.⁸¹

By employing a simplified, miniaturized mode of representation, artisans were able to highlight their patrons' increasingly tactical cavalry forces. Cavalrymen no longer had to stand beside their horses, as they did in the Qin, but now could be mounted on their horses, towering over nearby soldiers. Great attention was also paid to how the equestrian figures were mounted on their horses. Artisans seemed to have wrestled with which figure should be given precedence—the horse or the rider. Each region came up with a different solution to this problem, so that one can identify horse-and-rider pairs from different regions based on their construction.

Equestrian figures produced in the former kingdom of Qi—such as the Weishan, Xiangshan, and Shanwangcun armies—featured horses and riders that were fired as two separate pieces.⁸² The rider sat on top of the horse without any sort of glue to connect the two pieces. In the Weishan assemblage, the riders wore extravagant, bulky robes, and this solution ended up drawing far more attention to the rider than to the horse (figure 3.17).

Capital artisans, in contrast, created figures that emphasized the horse over the rider. Their equestrian figures were fabricated in two segments, each created using multiple molds, fired separately, and then glued together after firing. The first segment included the rider's head and upper body; the second segment contained the horse as well as the rider's lower body from the waist down (figure 3.16).⁸³ The rider's lower half, in this composition, is not depicted with much volume. As a result, the rider almost appears to disappear into the horse around the rider's waist. This composition tends to focus more on the figure of the horse than on the rider.⁸⁴

The Chu kingdom sculptors who created equestrian figures for the Shizishan tomb favored yet another compositional solution. They connected the figure to the horse at the rider's waist, and consequently attached the rider's two legs to the horse's midsection to imply the required continuation of the body (figure 3.20). The result is awkward, but it shows the rider's feet more realistically as they splay out from the side of the horse.

The privilege attached to cavalry forces during the Han meant that much attention was paid to the equestrian figures' appearance. In the Weishan army, the cavalrymen appear regal, with billowing robes hanging down over the sides of their horses. At Xiangshan, a white horse is adorned with numerous tassels and plaques that blow in the wind and a brightly colored fringe that stretches across the horse's chest (figure 3.21). Another rider wears an

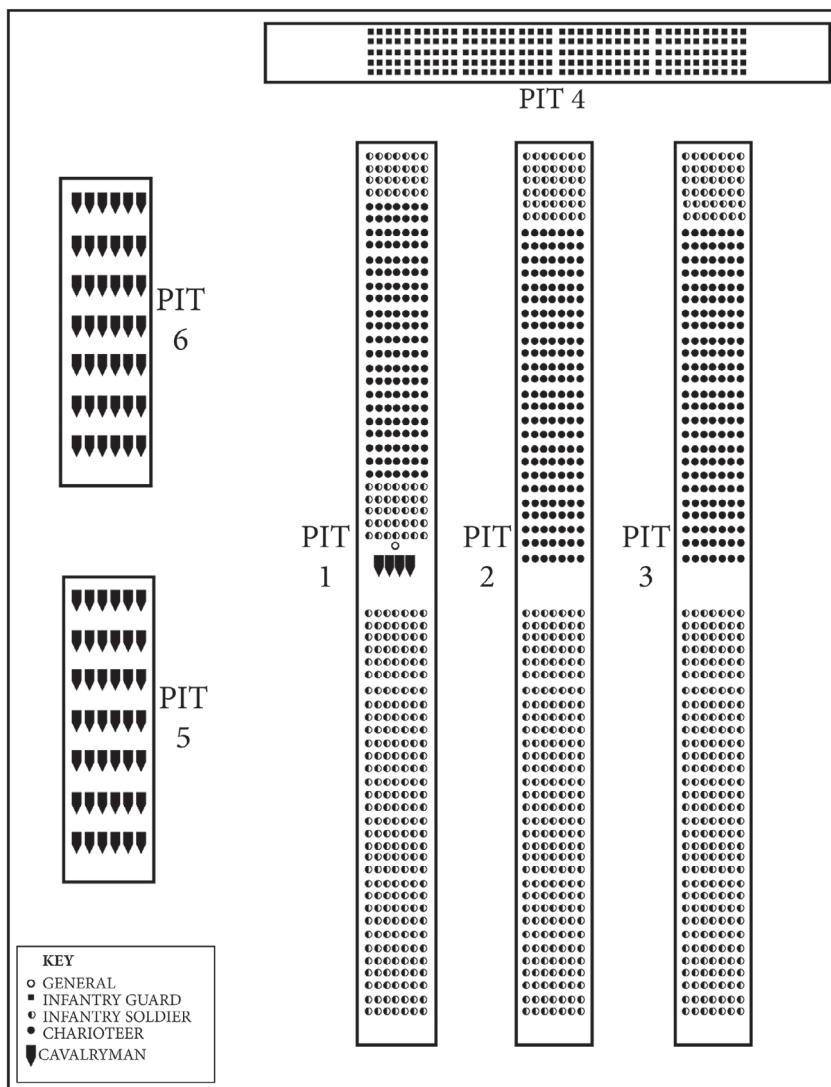


FIGURE 3.19 Plan showing the distribution of warriors and cavalrymen in the Shizishan terracotta army pits, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Redrawn by Keven Bloomfield and the author after Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu and Xuzhou Chuwang ling Han bingmayong bowuguan, *Shizishan Chuwang ling*, 144.



FIGURE 3.20 Armored cavalryman figure excavated from pit 6 of the Shizishan terracotta army pits, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Height 65 cm (25.6 in). Courtesy of Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu bowuguan.



FIGURE 3.21 Painted earthenware horse figure excavated from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Qingzhou Museum. Photograph by the author.

elegantly patterned light-blue robe with swirling patterns, a contrasting red under-robe, and a red belt with studs that look like cowries (figure. 3.22). Another pinto-colored horse appears with studded belts and finely drawn plaques that connect to feathers and tassels (figure 3.23). Equally lavish horses and riders have been excavated from Shanwangcun and Yangjiawan.

As mounted warriors, no people was as well respected as the inhabitants of the northern steppe. In the Han armies, we observe a strong impulse to highlight those members of their cavalries that were “ethnically steppe” and



FIGURE 3.22 Painted clay horse-and-rider figure excavated from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Qingzhou Museum. Photograph by the author.



FIGURE 3.23 Fragment of a painted earthenware horse figure excavated from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Qingzhou Museum.

had been coopted into Han army units. These warriors tended to be superior horsemen in contrast to their Han counterparts. In the Shangwangcun and Shizishan armies and at Yangling, we see cavalrymen with high cheekbones and full, round faces—that likely represented steppe horsemen (figures 3.24 and 3.25).⁸⁵ In the model army at Shizishan, the horses on which these round-faced, unarmored figures rode were inscribed with the label “flying steed” (*feiji* 飛騎) to emphasize their speed. The armored, presumably Han, figures rode larger horses (figure 3.20).⁸⁶ Because the Han armies overall were less individuated than the Qin figurines, those differences that *were* highlighted—such as cavalry troops of northern steppe ethnicity—were all the more accentuated.



FIGURE 3.24 Painted earthenware figure of a horseman (originally dressed in fabric clothing), unearthed from accompanying pit 2 in the southern area of the Yangling Mausoleum, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 3.25 Earthenware cavalryman figure on a horse inscribed with “flying steed,” unearthed from the Shizishan terracotta army pits, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Height 59 cm (23.2 in). Courtesy of the Xuzhou Museum.

Pomp and Circumstance

Another way in which the miniaturized army served the new political environment of the Han dynasty was that it readily enabled kings to highlight their own wealth and cultural sophistication. In other words, because kings sought to avoid creating armies that intimidated viewers, they turned, I would argue, toward regal military formations with ritual trappings that emphasized the kings' privileged status.

The fine brushwork adorning many of the Han figurines has often been overlooked, simply because the paint on many of them has not survived. For example, on a helmet that sits on the head of a Shizishan chariot driver, lines representing the plaque outlines and the thread used to stitch together the plaques would originally have been painted but are now gone (figure 3.26). However, we know they were once there because there are paint remains on the helmet and because an iron helmet comprised of sewn plaques that resembled one worn by the chariot driver was excavated from the tomb (figure 3.27).

Several recent excavations, however, have brought to light the opulent paint schemes that originally adorned the figurines. The original paint has been well preserved on many of the pieces from Yangjiawan, an army set commissioned for either general Zhou Bo or Zhou Yafu 周亞夫, the general who quelled the Seven Kingdoms Revolt. In this set, a high-cheekboned guard with hair done in a ribboned topknot was clothed in a crimson tunic with featherlike ribbons dangling from a sash over his right arm (figure 3.28). A general from the set wears ostentatious, scroll-patterned, knee-length boots with designs in red, green, purple and white (figure 3.29). An infantry soldier wears black armor with plaques finely outlined in white (figure 3.30). Similarly intricate color schemes have been found adorning the Xiangshan and the Shanwangcun figures, demonstrating that high-quality painted figures were not limited to the capital region. As noted previously, Xiangshan horses in particular are expressively detailed, with fine brushwork depicting the movement of plaques and tassels in the wind and the fine lines on the horses' faces, especially their mouths and eyes (figures 3.31 and 3.32).

Although the earlier Qin terracotta warriors also carried polychrome compositions, the colors followed the deeply molded surface decoration to such an extent that when Qin artisans painted the statues, they painted as if painting between peaks limned by valleys. To express the details of these



FIGURE 3.26 Painted earthenware kneeling figure wearing armor and a helmet, excavated from the Shizishan terracotta army pits, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Height 25.5 cm (10 in). Courtesy of the Xuzhou museum.



FIGURE 3.27 Helmet made from stitched together iron plaques, excavated from the Shizishan tomb, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Height 42 cm (16.5 in), diameter 27 cm (10.6 in). Courtesy of the Xuzhou museum.



FIGURE 3.28 Painted earthenware warriors from the Yangjiawan terracotta army pits, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 3.29 Painted earthenware figure of a general from the Yangjiawan terracotta army pits, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han, second century BCE. Height 56 cm (22 in). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 3.30 Painted earthenware armored warrior figure from the Yangjiawan terracotta army pits, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han, second century BCE. Earthenware with pigments. Height 49.8 cm (19.6 in). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

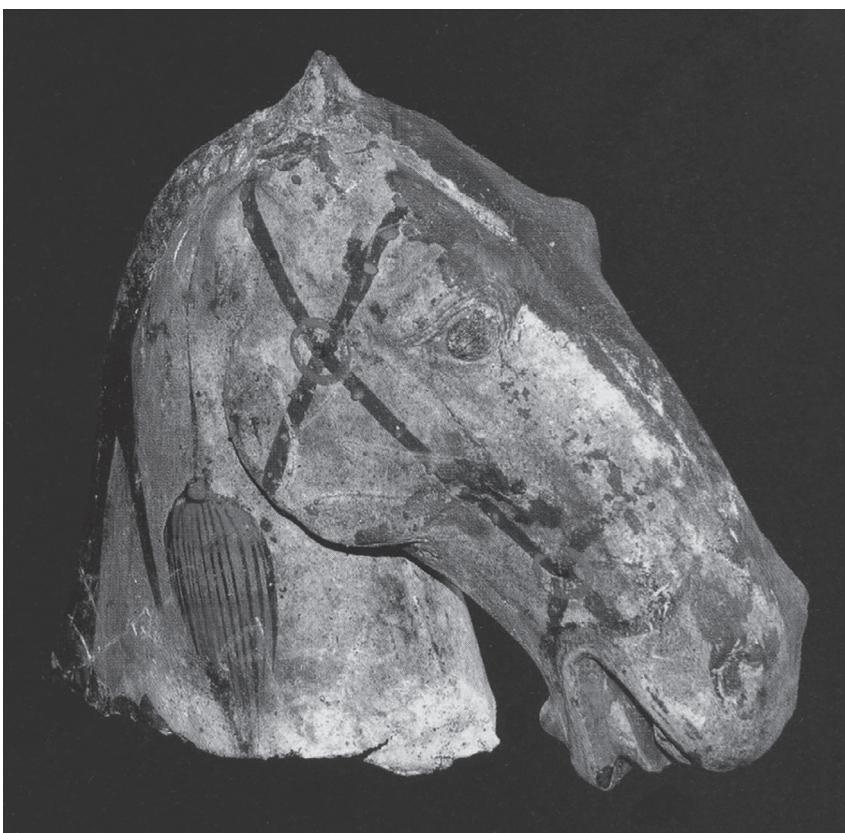


FIGURE 3.31 Head fragment of a painted clay horse figure excavated from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Qingzhou Museum.

figures in such high relief made the details quite visible from a distance, but it also allowed for less variation and individuality. That is to say, there is a natural design restriction when painting a naturalistic sculpture whose major details are expressed in high relief. On the flatter surface of the Han figures, artisans were free to use subtle, organic lines of their own to articulate the major details of the figures. Qin artisans were, in a sense, filling in spaces between the ridges with solid color, passively following the articulations of the major details of clothing, hair, etc. that had been laid down by the sculptor.⁸⁷ The smaller Han figures, with far less molded surface decoration, allowed artisans a flatter, bigger canvas, as it were, on which polychrome



FIGURE 3.32 Torso fragment of a painted clay horse figure excavated from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Qingzhou Museum.

painting became actual compositions, not just colors used as decorative fill-in. And when they did so, they turned to depictions that expressed their patron's wealth, pomp, and sophistication.

THE DECLINE OF ROYAL ARMIES AND THE IMPERIAL COURT'S NEW CLOTHED FIGURINES

In 154 BCE, a single event would dramatically change the relationship between the kingdoms and the central court—the Seven Kingdoms Revolt. This occurred during the reign of Emperor Jing, in reaction to his radical policy of taking power from the kings and bolstering that of the imperial government. Early in his reign, the emperor promoted a controversial figure, Chao Cuo, who enacted the new agenda by charging the kings with petty crimes and subtracting territory from their domains. The kings banded together in revolt but were defeated, all of them perishing in battle or committing suicide.⁸⁸

How did this affect the production of terracotta armies in the kingdoms? If we look at figurine armies in general from the Western Han period that have been excavated so far, we notice a surprising trend. After this watershed moment, armies in auxiliary pits dramatically decline. All four armies

discovered in Han kingdoms are believed to date from the first century of the Western Han. Indeed, three of those armies have been attributed to kings who participated (and died) in the Seven Kingdoms Revolt.⁸⁹

Based on current evidence, it appears that after the Seven Kingdoms revolt, terracotta armies commissioned for kings went into steep decline. Generally, following this period, such auxiliary army pits were produced only for the tombs of emperors or imperial generals. In the kingdoms following this period, we observe only “processional assemblages” (*chema chuxing* 車馬出行) consisting of chariots, a few mounted personnel, and other attendants, buried inside tombs rather than in auxiliary pits outside of the tomb.⁹⁰ More emphasis was given to the furnishing of the interior of the kings’ tombs, particularly the main offering space and the burial chamber.

Why would later kings move away from the practice of burying terracotta armies in the vicinity of their tombs? One factor might be the significant curtailing of the kings’ power and control over their burials following the Seven Kingdoms Revolt. As discussed in chapter 1, the imperial court took firm control over the kings’ administrations after the revolt by dramatically reducing the size, and therefore the income, of the majority of kingdoms and requiring that all high- and midlevel officials be appointed by the court.⁹¹ The court also passed new laws regulating royal burials. From 148 BCE onward, when a king passed, an imperial representative would be dispatched from the capital to oversee the burial. This representative would mourn, provide the deceased with burial clothes, offer sacrifices, present gifts, oversee the funeral and burial, and install the heir on the throne.⁹² Although kingdoms were still permitted to plan and carry out royal burials, the new laws prescribed that no more than three hundred people could be involved in drawing the hearse, burying the king, or building the mound.⁹³ In this environment of increased suspicion and imperial control, kingdoms may no longer have desired to celebrate their military strength by presenting a regular, fully equipped army near their tombs.

The archaeological record also suggests that, following the Seven Kingdoms Revolt, there was an increased effort on the part of the capital to distinguish the armies made for emperors and their favorites from those made for the kings and other, lower officials. Emperors and their associates in the capital increasingly used a new type of burial figurine referred to in archaeological literature as “clothed figurines” (*zhuoyi yong* 著衣俑), broadly defined as ceramic figurines whose clothing was not modeled in clay.

but rather made from silk or other materials.⁹⁴ Clothed figurines were positioned throughout the pits made for Emperor Jing's tomb, both in the pits that radiated outward from his tumulus and in the two sets of twenty-four terracotta army pits positioned roughly five hundred meters to the north and south of the emperor's tomb. These warriors wore real silk robes of yellow, white, gray, orange, and brown, coupled with crimson headbands, and armor fashioned from wood (figure 3.33).⁹⁵ At the time of excavation, the figurines were armless; a hole near the figures' shoulders was designed for the insertion of movable wooden arms, which have mostly decayed. Mounted figures discovered in pit 11, in the immediate surrounds of Jingdi's tumulus, similarly wore fabric clothing tied up with miniaturized bronze belt hooks and carried miniaturized bronze and iron weapons (figure 3.34). They rode wooden, rather than ceramic, horses which, like the figures' wooden arms, were not well preserved.⁹⁶

Buried armies of this new type did not look like the earlier figurines designed for the emperor's general at Yangjiawan, nor like the figurines that kings designed for themselves. They aimed at naturalism to a far greater degree, with more naturalistically sculpted faces, movable wooden arms, and wooden horses that were easier to sculpt to fit precisely under the body of the equestrian figures. They were also larger, standing at one-third life-size rather than one-quarter like the king's figurines. Many of the Yangling figures are represented in motion—often with one foot positioned in front of the other and their bodies bent, as if they are walking or charging forward.⁹⁷

Scholarly analyses of these figures often draw a connection between them and wooden figures of the earlier Eastern Zhou period. Certainly, there were similarities, and the Western Han court's issuing of a new style likely came from artisans' own preferences to work from past methods and styles. For example, wooden figures with clay faces and similar holes in the shoulder socket have been excavated from tomb 7 at Niujiaopo 牛家坡 in Changzi 長子 county, Shanxi province, and date to the late Spring and Autumn period (770–481 BCE).⁹⁸ Wooden figures clothed in silk clothing have also been excavated from a number of Warring States tombs in Jiangling 江陵 county, Hubei province, such as Baoshan 包山, Jiudian 九店, Mashan 馬山, Wangshan 望山, and Yutaishan 雨台山; they continued to be produced in the Han, as seen in the clothed figures from Han Mawangdui 馬王堆 tomb 1 (figure 3.35), located in nearby Hunan province.⁹⁹



FIGURE 3.33 View of painted clay warriors with wooden armor and fabric clothing in pit 20 in the southern area of the Yangling Mausoleum, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 3.34 Painted earthenware figure mounted on a wooden horse from pit 11, on the eastern side of Emperor Jing's tomb mound at Yangling, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

However, Emperor Jing's clothed figurines were unique in that their cores were ceramic, not wood, and artisans took pains to give each figure a highly individualized appearance. Standing figures excavated from the southern army pit, for example, feature a wide range of facial shapes (round, square, oval, etc.). They had soft and volumetric cheeks, deep-set eyes, and a facial structure that revealed that the artisans had attempted to carefully render the underlying bone and muscular structure. Underneath the figures' clothing, details such as belly buttons, genitals, and kneecaps were fashioned, and the figures were painted all over with a flesh-colored paint. This precision reflects the influence of the Qin sculptural tradition.

Emperor Jing's figures were housed in far more elaborate pits than had been constructed for the kings' tombs or at Yangjiawan. Although the figures were not much taller than other early Han figures, the wooden boxes in which they were interred were buried much deeper than those buried in the surrounds of kings' and officials' tombs. Pit 11, for example, measured

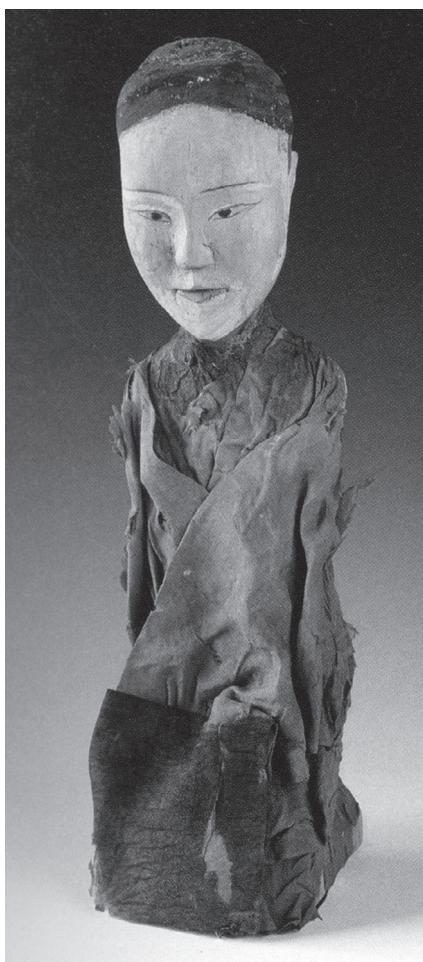


FIGURE 3.35 Painted wooden burial figure with fabric clothing, excavated from Mawangdui tomb 1, Changsha, Hunan province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Height 32.5 cm (12.8 in). Courtesy of the Hunan Museum.

approximately 71 by 3.8 by 8.25 meters.¹⁰⁰ By comparison, the largest pit at Shizishan, pit 1, measured 27.7 by 1.25–2.00 by 0.55–1.05 meters.¹⁰¹

The court's increased use of these new figurines, beginning in Emperor Jing's reign (or earlier),¹⁰² represented an attempt to distinguish imperial burials from those of the kings. The histories do not record any formal edict or court policy restricting the kings' use of clothed figurines in their tombs; however, to date, the only examples of figurines of this type buried in a royal

tomb are a small set of cavalry and female attendant figurines unearthed from the Shiyuan 柿園 tomb of the kingdom of Liang 梁 (most likely not the king's own tomb, but his consort's).¹⁰³ The royalty of Liang may have been permitted to bury figurines of this style because of the king's special relationship with the imperial house, thanks to the assistance he had rendered to the capital in quelling the Seven Kingdoms Revolt. According to the *Shiji*, when the revolt occurred, the Liang army killed the same number of rebels as did the imperial army itself.¹⁰⁴ The merit thus accrued, according to the *Hanshu*, enabled the king of Liang to maintain administrative control over his kingdom even as other kings were deprived of this right. He was permitted to appoint his own chief minister and high-ranking officials and allegedly had an entourage of “a thousand chariots and 10,000 horsemen” (千乘萬騎) when he went out.¹⁰⁵

Aside from Shiyuan, all other figurines in the style created for Emperor Jing's Yangling mausoleum have been found in the capital region (table 3.2). To date, figurines in this style have been excavated in large numbers from at least fifteen reported sites. They have been found not only in pits prepared for three emperors' tombs—Emperor Jing's, Emperor Wu's Maoling 茂陵, and Emperor Xuan's 宣帝 (r. 74–49 BCE) Duling 杜陵—but also in pits prepared for members of the imperial house and important officials in the capital region. More than one thousand clothed figures in the new style, for example, have been excavated from the vicinity of the tomb attributed to Zhang Anshi (d. 62 BCE) (figure 3.36). Zhang served as general of defense (*wei jiangjun* 衛將軍) under Emperor Xuan, among other roles.¹⁰⁶

Other clothed figures found in the capital were generally similar in design to those created for Emperor Jing's Yangling. However, at other sites, what have been referred to as “half-clothed/half-modeled ceramic figurines” (*banzhuo bansu taoyong* 半著半塑陶俑) have been excavated (figure 3.37).¹⁰⁷ These figures feature a “naked” upper torso paired with a knee-length painted and modeled skirt. Originally, it was thought that these figures were the earliest stage of “clothed” figures; however, since the figures were produced at the same time or after Emperor Jing's Yangling figures (and buried together with other fully “clothed” figures), they appear to be a unique subtype.¹⁰⁸

Based on this discussion, we can conclude that figurines of this new style were reserved for the exclusive use of the imperial house for burials in the capital region. They represented an explicit move by the imperial house to distinguish the burial goods of those connected with the imperial center from

TABLE 3.2

Excavated assemblages of “clothed figurines” (*zhuoyi yong* 著衣俑) dating to the Western Han

Site name/location	Description		Tomb occupant/date	Report
1 Changling 長陵, accompanying burial, Xianyang, Shaanxi	Unspecified number of male and female figures		Western Han dynasty; after Emperor Gaozu's reign (r. 202–195 BCE)	Ge Hong, Yan, and He, “Xianyang Sanyicun Han Changling peizang mu chutu baicai zhuoyi shi taoyong de yanjiu,” 41, 73–75.
2 Yangling 陽陵, Xianyang, Shaanxi	Southern area, pits 6, 8, 16, 17	90 figures, 537 figure heads	Emperor Jing (r. 157–141 BCE)	Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo Hanling kaogudui, “Han Jingdi Yangling nanqu congzung keng fajue di yi hao jianbao,” 5–8.
	Southern area, phase II excavation, pits 20–23	368 figures and 320 figure heads		Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo Han ling kaogudui, “Han Jingdi Yangling nanqu congzung keng fajue di'er hao jianbao,” 19.
	Pits 11–21 on the east side of the main tumulus	Hundreds of figures		Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan, “Han Yangling diling dongce 11–21 hao waicangkeng fajue jianbao,” 16–17.
3 Yangling 陽陵, auxiliary pit near accompanying tomb 9, Xianyang, Shaanxi	177 figures		Western Han dynasty; after Emperor Jing's reign (r. 157–141 BCE)	Wang Xueli, “Zhuoyi shi mubi yong de shidai yiyi,” 72.
4 Guangming Company 光明公司 tomb 740, an accompanying tomb to Yangling, Xi'an, Shaanxi	Numerous figures as well as three “half-clothed/half-modeled figures”		Western Han dynasty; after Emperor Jing's reign (r. 157–141 BCE)	He Qian, “Xi Han zhuoyi shi taoyong chulun,” 34–35; Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan, “2008 nian Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan kaogu diaocha fajue xin shouhuo,” 19.
5 Shiyuan 柿園 tomb, Yongcheng, Henan	Four female figures and forty cavalrymen		Possibly the tomb of the first queen of Liu Wu 劉武, king Xiao 孝 of Liang 梁 (r. 168–144 BCE), his consort, or Liu Mai 劉買, King Gong 恭 of Liang (143–137 BCE)	Yan Genqi, ed., <i>Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi</i> , 171–189.
6 Northwest Chang'an, Xi'an, Shaanxi	Workshops	Broken figures	Western Han dynasty; likely utilized during Emperor Jing's reign (r. 157–141 BCE) and after	Zhou Suping and Wang, “Han Chang'an cheng xibei qu taoyong zuofang yizhi,” 1–2.
	Kilns	From kilns 2–22, 725 figure heads and 782 unfired figures; from kilns 23–27, four male figures as well as many broken figures		Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo Han chengdui, “Han Chang'an cheng yaozhi fajue baogao,” 110, 122; Liu Qingzhu et al., “Han Chang'an cheng 23–27 hao yaozhi fajue jianbao,” 986–996.

7	Xin'an 新安 Village Brick Machine Factory tomb, Xi'an, Shaanxi	Eight standing figures (three male, five female), seven cavalrymen (although more were found in pieces), and two “half-clothed/half-modeled figures”	Tomb belonged to “Li Cheng 利成”; dated to the early reign of Emperor Wu (r. 141–87 BCE)	Zheng Hongchun, “Shaanxi Xin'an ji zhuanchang Han chu jitan mu fajue bao,” 46–47.
8	Jiangcun damu 江村大墓, Xi'an, Shaanxi	More than two hundred male and female figures, many lacking feet and charcoal-stained	Possibly the tomb of Princess Guantao 館陶公主 (d. 116 BCE) or Emperor Wen (r. 180–157 BCE)	Hu Lingui, “Heise luoti Han yong de jianding,” 59–63.
9	Zhijiagou 支家溝 tomb, Xi'an, Shaanxi	183 figures (106 males, 75 females, 2 eunuchs)	Possibly the tomb of Elder Princess of Eyi 鄂邑長公主 (d. 80 BCE)	Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan, “Shaanxi Lantian Zhijiagou Han mu fajue jianbao,” 15–17. For the tomb occupant, see Duan Yi, “Lantian Zhijiagou Han mu muzhu,” 74–76, 85.
10	Maoling 茂陵, accompanying tomb, Xianyang, Shaanxi	Four figures	Western Han dynasty; after Emperor Wu's reign (r. 141–87 BCE)	Wang Xueli, “Zhuoyi shi mubi yong de shidai yiyi,” 71.
11	Maoling 茂陵, auxiliary pits 26 and 15 on the southern side of the main tumulus, Xianyang, Shaanxi	Four figures	Emperor Wu (r. 141–87 BCE)	“Maoling bowuguan xin zeng 9 jian cangpin”
12	Accompanying burial district near Pingling 平陵 (Emperor Zhao's tomb), Xianyang, Shaanxi	Broken figures, one with remains of fabric clothing	Western Han dynasty; after Emperor Zhao's (r. 87–74 BCE) reign	Xianyang bowuguan, “Han Pingling diaocha jianbao,” 49.
13	Duling 杜陵, auxiliary pits 1 and 4, Xi'an, Shaanxi	From pit 1, reports indicate that either thirty-one or forty unbroken figures were found, as well as many broken figures. From pit 4, nine figures were found.	Emperor Xuan (r. 74–49 BCE)	Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiu suo, <i>Han Duling lingyuan yizhi</i> , 86 and plate 4; Wang Xueli, “Zhuoyi shi mubi yong de shidai yiyi,” 71.
14	Fengqiyuan 風棲原, auxiliary pits 5 and 6 near tomb 8, Xi'an, Shaanxi	Approx. one thousand figures in two pits	Zhang Anshi 張安世 (d. 62 BCE)	Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan, “Xi'an Fengqiyuan Xi Han mudi tianye kaogu fajue shouhuo,” 111–112; Ding Yan, “Fengqiyuan damu zhimi,” 14–23.
15	Auxiliary pit near Chengzhong 城中 village tomb, Shijajie 石家街, Xi'an, Shaanxi	N/A	Western Han dynasty	“Xi'an faxian Xi Han gaoji guizu mu peizang taoyong he Huangdi suoyong xiangtong.”



FIGURE 3.36 View of the earthenware army discovered in accompanying pit 5 at Fengqiyuan, Xi'an, Shaanxi province, Western Han dynasty. Reproduced by permission of Sichuan Science and Technology Press.

those of kings. In kings' tombs created after the revolt and during Emperor Wu's reign, the practice of commissioning large numbers of external, auxiliary pits declined; more emphasis was given to furnishing the interior of the kings' tombs, particularly the main offering space and the burial chamber. The kings' artisans still created figurines; however, they generally did not dare to model armies and place them in auxiliary pits.

In the imperial capital, in contrast, auxiliary pits continued to be created in large number in the surrounds of imperial tombs through the end of the Western Han. The figurines fashioned for these pits were generally of Emperor Jing's new proprietary type. Either clothed figurines or ordinary earthenware soldiers were buried in the tombs of officials and special favorites sited in the imperial tombs area.



FIGURE 3.37 Painted clay “half-clothed/half-modeled” figure, which was looted, sold abroad, and gifted back to the Han Yangling Mausoleum Museum. Western Han dynasty. Height 57.9 cm (22.8 in). Shaanxi Han Yangling Mausoleum Museum. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

CONCLUSION

In the Han, figurines were made not only for the purpose of the afterlife but also as social goods that reflected relationships among emperors, kings, ministers, and the people. The First Emperor of Qin's decision to commission life-size figures was not merely a personal and/or artistic one, but instead one that reflected his overweening will to exploit the people and their resources for what was essentially a personal monument and a signal of bureaucratic power, and arguably a sign of apotheosis as well. As a result, the rejection of the life-size form by early Han emperors, kings, and elites ought not be regarded as a cultural regression, economic austerity, or a loss of artistic talent, as some have proposed, but rather as reflecting a new impulse against monumental architecture and funerary art that might compromise political reputations.

The case of the terracotta warriors also highlights the intense competition between the imperial house and the kings in the early Han and the degree to which the size and scale of interred figurine armies enabled early elites to assert their status among their peers. Miniaturization offered many advantages. First, it enabled patrons to pursue complex sculptural designs to highlight their cavalry armies (in the case of emperors and kings); it also freed them to create lavishly painted and ornamented figures, with paint schemes that were no longer bound to the rigid lines set by the earlier Qin terracotta army's naturalistic three-dimensional sculpture. As emperors increasingly desired to distinguish their burial goods from those of the kings, the pendulum of expenditure on funerary figures gradually swung back in the direction of representational veracity and lavishness as pursued by the Qin First Emperor. However, the Han would never forget the political implications of the Qin's example. A full return to life-size naturalism and the steep demands that it made on the empire and its people would never again occur.

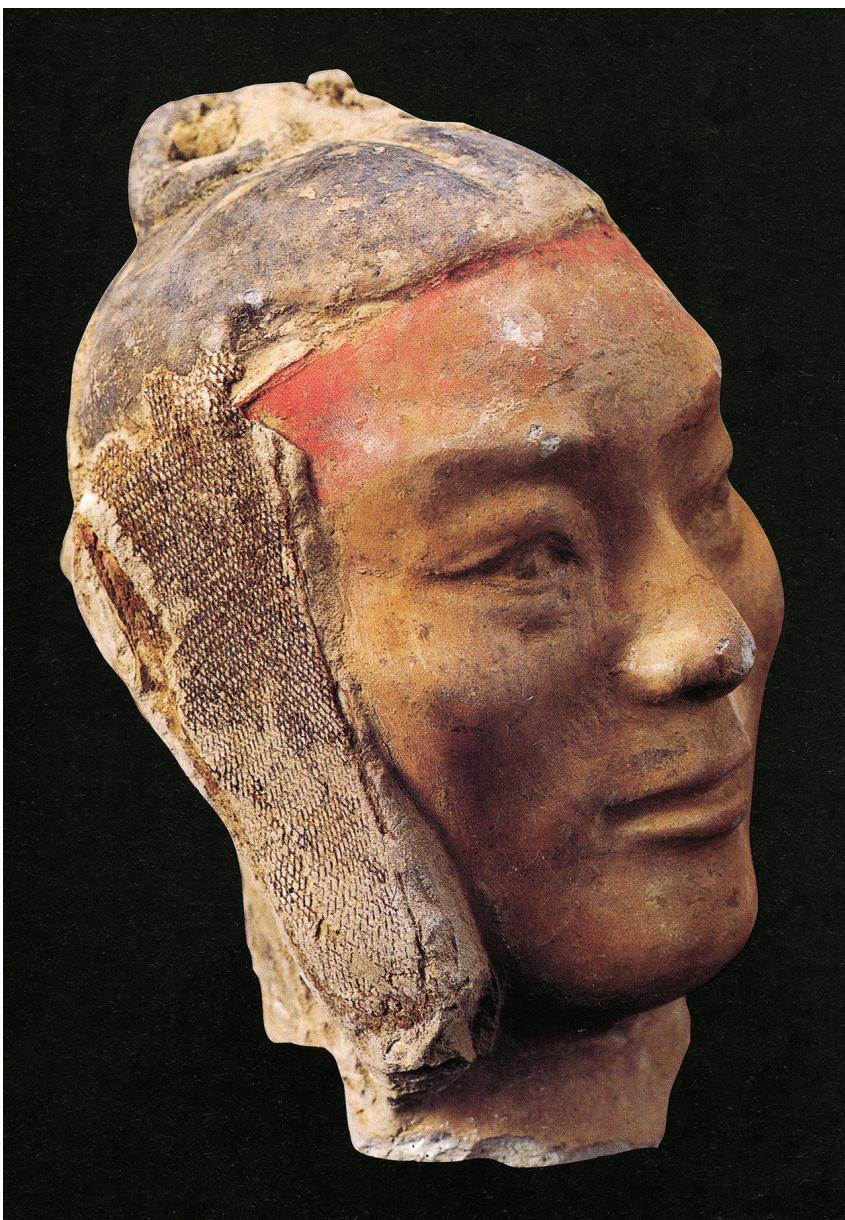


FIGURE 3.8 Painted earthenware warrior head fragment with traces of a fabric hat, excavated from auxiliary pit 20 in the southern area of Emperor Jing's Yangling mausoleum, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Chongqing Press.



FIGURE 3.17 Painted clay figures on horseback in the vanguard of the Weishan terracotta army, Zhangqiu, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Zhangqiu City Museum. Photograph by Gary Wang.



FIGURE 3.18 Horse-led chariot from the terracotta army found in auxiliary pit 1 of the Weishan tomb, Zhangqiu, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Zhangqiu City Museum. Photograph by Gary Wang.



FIGURE 3.21 Painted earthenware horse figure excavated from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Qingzhou Museum. Photograph by the author.



FIGURE 3.22 Painted clay horse-and-rider figure excavated from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Qingzhou Museum. Photograph by the author.



FIGURE 3.23 Fragment of a painted earthenware horse figure excavated from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Qingzhou Museum.



FIGURE 3.29 Painted earthenware figure of a general from the Yangjiawan terracotta army pits, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han, second century BCE. Height 56 cm (22 in). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 3.30 Painted earthenware armored warrior figure from the Yangjiawan terracotta army pits, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han, second century BCE. Earthenware with pigments. Height 49.8 cm (19.6 in). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 3.31 Head fragment of a painted clay horse figure excavated from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Qingzhou Museum.



FIGURE 3.32 Torso fragment of a painted clay horse figure excavated from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Qingzhou Museum.

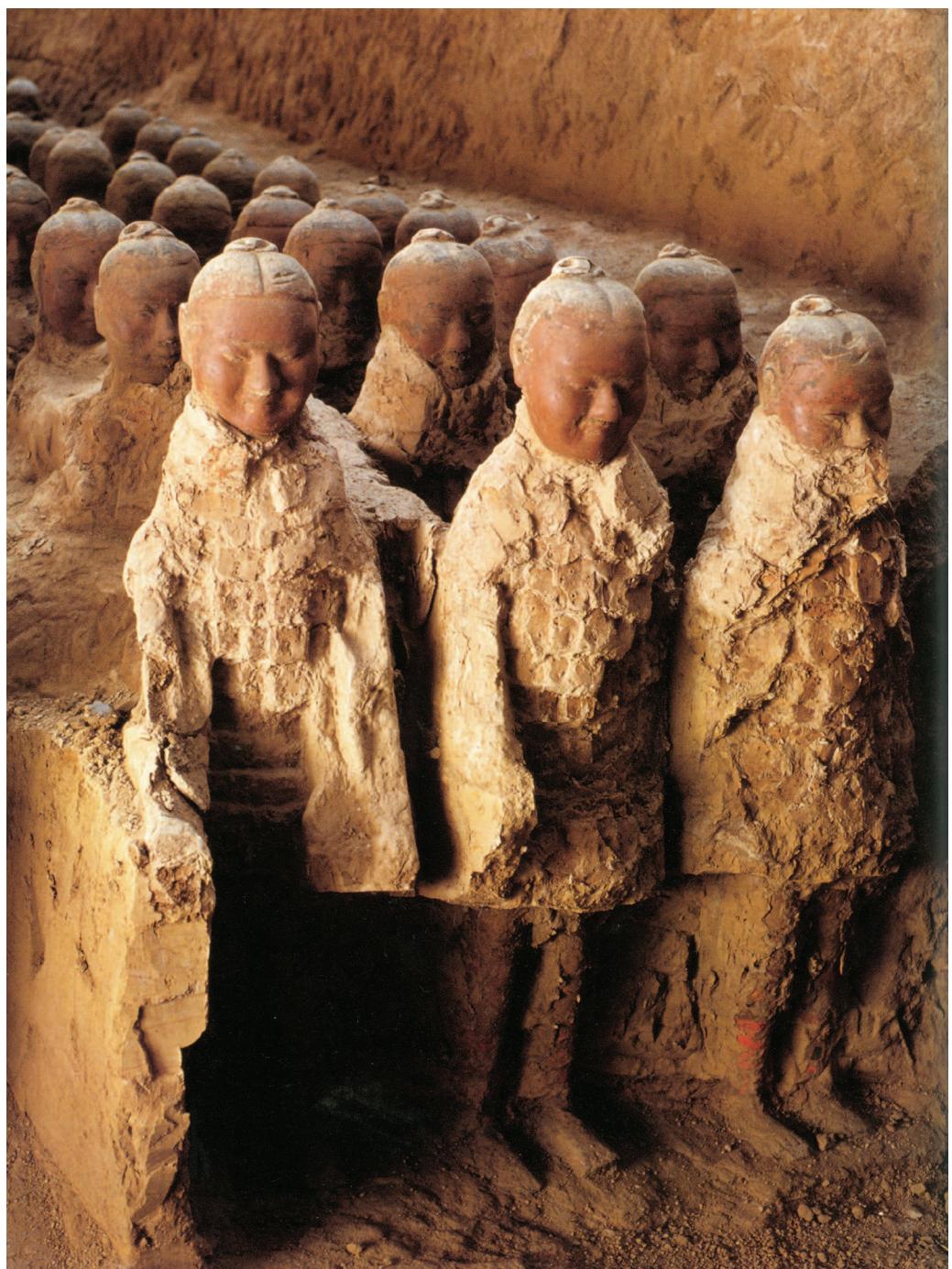


FIGURE 3.33 View of painted clay warriors with wooden armor and fabric clothing in pit 20 in the southern area of the Yangling Mausoleum, Xianyang, Shaanxi province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

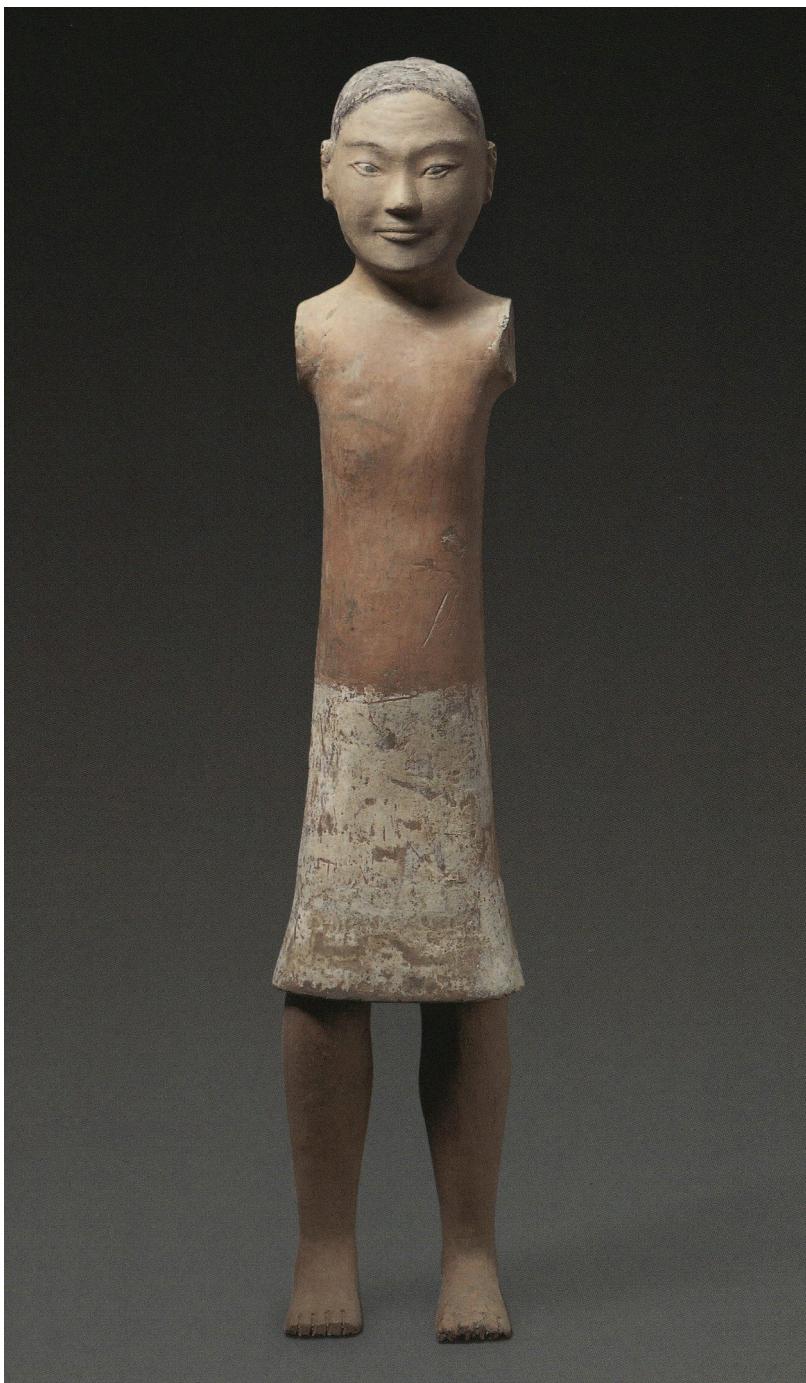


FIGURE 3.37 Painted clay “half-clothed/half-modeled” figure, which was looted, sold abroad, and gifted back to the Han Yangling Mausoleum Museum. Western Han dynasty. Height 57.9 cm (22.8 in.) Shaanxi Han Yangling Mausoleum Museum. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 4.1 Gold-threaded jade suit from the Shizishan tomb, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Length 175 cm (68.9 in.), width 68 cm (26.8 in.). Courtesy of the Xuzhou Museum.



FIGURE 4.9 Face cover from the Shizishan jade suit, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Xuzhou Museum.



FIGURE 4.12 Silk-threaded jade suit from the tomb of the king of Nanyue, Guangzhou, Guangdong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Length 1.73 m (5.7 ft). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 4.13 Gold-threaded jade suit from Dayunshan tomb 2, Xuyi, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Height 28 cm (11 in.), length 175 cm (5.7 ft), width 76 cm (29.9 in). Courtesy of the Nanjing Museum.



FIGURE 4.14 Gold-threaded jade suit from Mancheng tomb 2, the tomb of Dou Wan, Mancheng, Hebei province, Western Han dynasty. Length 1.72 m (5.6 ft). Hebei Museum. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 4.16 Jade face cover from the jade suit held in the Tianjin museum, Han dynasty. Courtesy of the Tianjin museum.



FIGURE 5.5 Ceiling mural from the main chamber of the Shiyuan tomb, Yongcheng, Henan province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Length 5.14 m (16.9 ft), width 3.27 m (10.7 ft). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 5.8 Detail of the mural positioned over the southern wall of the main chamber of the Shiyan tomb, Yongcheng, Henan province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 5.10 Red lacquer coffin with painted designs from the set of nested coffins buried in Mawangdui tomb 1, Changsha, Hunan province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Height 89 cm (2.9 ft), length 230 cm (7.5 ft), width 93 cm (3.1 ft). Courtesy of the Hunan Museum.



FIGURE 6.2 Purple clay seal impression, which reads “Seal of the king of Zichuan” (Zichuan wang xi 蘇川王璽), Western Han dynasty. Tokyo National Museum. Reproduced by permission of TNM Image Archives.



FIGURE 6.4 Excavation photograph showing painted figures and other ceramic objects in the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Qingzhou Museum.



FIGURE 6.5 Painted earthenware figure wearing a purple robe from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Qingzhou Museum.



FIGURE 6.6 Painted earthenware robed male figure with mustache and goatee from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Qingzhou Museum.



FIGURE 6.7 Painted earthenware kneeling figure in a purple robe from the tomb of Zhou Ying 周應, located in the accompanying cemetery in the eastern part of the Yangling mausoleum district, Shaanxi Province, Western Han dynasty. Height 41 cm (16.1 in). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 6.8 Photograph of a Shandong mollusk and a silk fragment dyed purple by Wang Xu using shellfish dye. Courtesy of Zhao Feng.



FIGURE 6.9 Purple silk gauze with painted and printed designs from Mawangdui tomb 1, Changsha, Hunan province, Western Han, second century BCE. Length 44 cm (1.4 ft), width 53 cm (1.7 ft). Courtesy of the Hunan Museum.



FIGURE 6.10 Embroidered silk excavated from tomb 125 of the Haiqu cemetery, Rizhao, Shandong province, Western Han dynasty. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

Chapter Four

THE MANY MEANINGS OF JADE

Jade Suits and Local Identity in the Early Han

Liu Wu 劉戊, the third king of Chu 楚 (r. 174–154 BCE), reigned over a kingdom that historically had enjoyed one of the closest relationships with the imperial throne. His grandfather, Liu Jiao 劉交 (r. 201–179 BCE), was Emperor Gaozu’s 高祖 (r. 202–195 BCE) younger brother by the same father.¹ Liu Jiao brought great honor to the family; he loved books and studied the *Book of Odes* (*Shijing* 詩經) with three disciples of Fuqiu Bo 浮丘伯, in turn a distinguished disciple of Xunzi 荀子 (d. 238 BCE).² Liu Jiao even wrote a commentary on the *Odes*.³ Liu Wu’s father, Liu Yingke 劉郢客 (r. 178–172 BCE), also had an illustrious career. He studied the *Odes* with Shen Gong 申公, one of Fuqiu Bo’s students and a founder of the Lu 魯 School of the *Odes*.⁴ He was also honored with the title director of the imperial clan (*zongzheng* 宗正) during Empress Dowager Lü’s reign.⁵

In contrast to his father and grandfather, the *Hanshu* describes Liu Wu as “immoderate and ruthless” (*yin bao* 淫暴). He continued to employ the three erudite scholars his grandfather and father had employed—Mu Sheng 穆生, Shen Gong, and Bai Sheng 百生—but they soon recognized a difference between Liu Wu and his royal predecessors. Mu Sheng left Liu Wu’s service at the first indication of disrespect: the king’s not preparing the sweet wine that Liu Wu’s father and grandfather had always prepared for him at official meetings.⁶ Shen Gong and Bai Sheng chose to remain in the king’s service. However, when they criticized the king’s decision to join the Seven Kingdoms Revolt, they were shackled, dressed in the reddish-brown garb of

convicts, and forced to engage in manual labor (grinding grain).⁷ Liu Wu's reign was cut short when the Seven Kingdoms Revolt was defeated in 154 BCE, forcing him to commit suicide.⁸

Archaeologists believe that, despite having spearheaded a revolt, Liu Wu was buried at Shizishan 獅子山 in the most extravagant jade suit excavated to date (figures 4.1 and 4.2).⁹ The suit—fashioned from pure

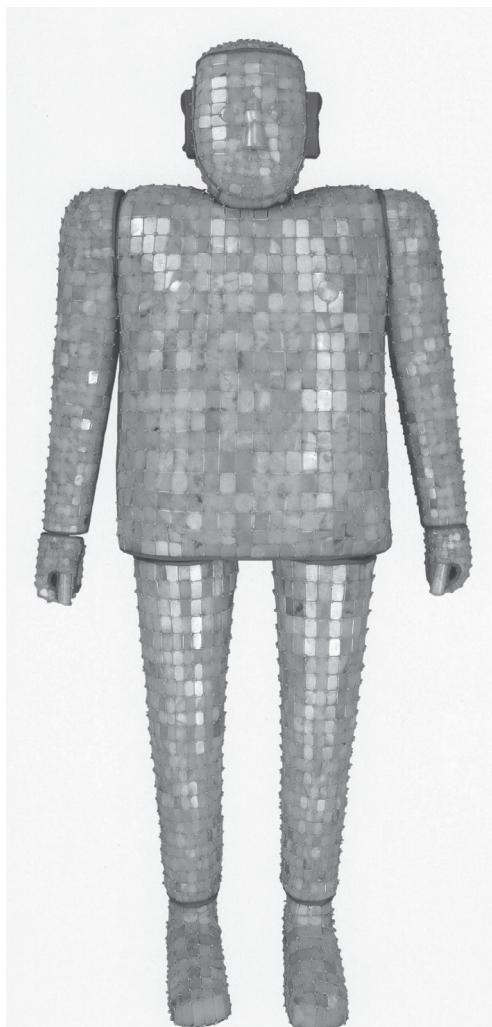


FIGURE 4.1 Gold-threaded jade suit from the Shizishan tomb, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Length 175 cm (68.9 in), width 68 cm (26.8 in). Courtesy of the Xuzhou Museum.

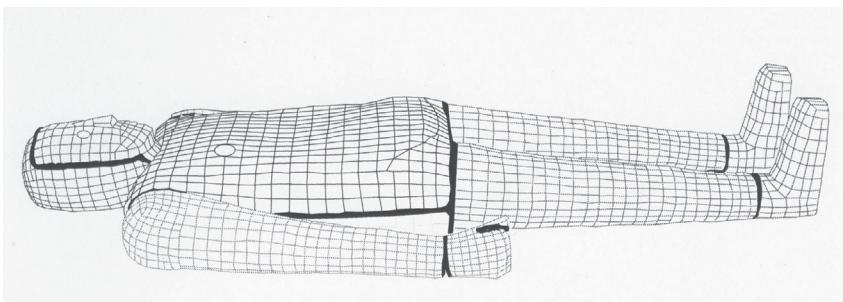


FIGURE 4.2 Line drawing of the Shizishan jade suit, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Xuzhou Museum.

white jade from Xinjiang—was comprised of 4,248 finely worked jade plaques sewn together with gold thread. Each plaque was pierced four times and averaged only 1.2 to 2.5 millimeters in thickness, roughly that of a quarter.¹⁰ At the time of its discovery, the suit had been ripped apart by grave robbers for the approximately 1,576 grams (3.47 lbs) of gold thread.¹¹ Today, the suit has been carefully reconstructed by the Xuzhou 徐州 Museum, where it remains as part of the museum's permanent collection.

The suit found in the Shizishan tomb, however, is not the only full jade suit recovered to date; ten complete, or nearly complete, suits dating to the Western Han (202 BCE–9 CE) have been excavated (table 4.1). Of these, eight have been attributed to kings or queens of the Western Han, one belonged to a marquis, and one is unprovenanced. In addition, at least twenty-seven other Western Han burials have yielded jade plaques that are believed to have formed part of a full suit, a partial suit (figure 4.3), or a jade mask (figures 4.4 and 4.5).¹²

The jade suit represented one of the most important burial accoutrements of Han times. Unlike other burial goods, it was used consistently by Liu family members from its introduction all the way until the dynasty's fall. The suits then became such a notorious sign of imperial luxury that the Cao-Wei 曹魏 emperor Wen 文 (Cao Pi 曹丕, r. 220–226) had them banned in 222 CE.¹³

In this chapter, I will examine the meaning of the jade suit during the Han and show that although the use of jade in mortuary culture had a long history, the jade suit was not a genre that evolved expectedly from existing practices. The particular conditions of the early empire—certain material

TABLE 4.1
Complete (or restored to complete) Western Han jade suits

Site	Location	Occupant	Thread	Plaques	Plaque thickness	Length	Drilled?	Source
1	Shizishan 獅子山	Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu	Attributed to Liu Yingke 劉郢客, King Yi 羲 of Chu 楚 (r. 178–175 BCE), or Liu Wu 劉戊, King of Chu (r. 174–154 BCE)	Gold, 1,576 g (3.5 lbs)	4,000 excavated from the site; restored suit contained 4,248	Roughly .12–.25 cm	175 cm (5.7 ft)	Yes
2	Huoshan 火山	Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu	Seal of Liu He 劉和 found in the tomb. Tomb dated to the reigns of Emperors Wen 文帝 and Jing 景帝 (180–141 BCE)	Silver, 1,000 g (2.2 lbs)	N/A	181 cm (5.9 ft)	Yes	Geng Jianjun and Sheng, “Xizhou Huoshan Han mu,” 132–133.
3	King of Nanyue 南越 tomb	Guangzhou 廣州, Guangzhou	Zhao Mo 趙昧/Zhao Hu 趙弔, king of Nanyue 南越 (r. 137–122 BCE)	Silk	2,291	0.29–0.39 cm	173 cm (5.7 ft)	Some drilled, some glued
4	Mancheng 满城 tomb 1	Mancheng 满城, Hebei	Liu Sheng 劉勝, King Jing 景清 of Zhongshan 中山 (r. 154–113)	Gold, 1,100 g (2.4 lbs)	2,498	0.2–0.35 cm	188 cm (6.2 ft)	Yes
5	Mancheng 满城 tomb 2	Mancheng 满城, Hebei	Queen of Zhongshan 中山, Dou Wan 獅姑	Gold, 700 g (1.5 lbs)	2,160	0.5 cm (chest)	172 cm (5.6 ft)	Some drilled, some glued
								Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo et al, <i>Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao</i> , 37, 346.
								Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo et al, <i>Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao</i> , 350.

6	Dayunshan 大雲山 tomb 1	Xuyi 盱眙 county, Jiangsu	A king of Jiangdu 江都	Gold, 760 g (1.7 lbs)	1,738 excavated from the site; restored suit contained 2,381	Thinnest plaques were 0.15 cm	N/A	Yes	Wang Wei and Wang, “Dayunshan Han Mu jinlü yuyi,” 113, 117.
7	Dingxian 定縣 tomb 40	Ding 定 county, Hebei	Attributed to Liu Xiu 劉修, King Huai 懿 of Zhongshan 中山 (r. 69–54 BCE) or Liu Xing 劉興, King Xiao 孝 of Zhongshan (r. 23–87 BCE)	Gold, 2,580 g (5.7 lbs)	1,203	N/A	182 cm (6 ft)	Yes	Hebei sheng bowuguan et al., “Dingxian 40 hao Han mu” 57.
8	Shenjishan 神居山 tomb 2	Gaoyou 高郵, Jiangsu	Queen of Guangling 廣陵, wife of Liu Xu 劉胥, King Li 麗 (r. 117–54 BCE)	Gold, 750 g (1.7 lbs)	2,480	N/A	188 cm (6.2 ft)	Yes	Information about the suit collected from plaques posted at the tomb site.
9	Xishan 僖山 tomb 1	Yongcheng 永城, Henan	A king of Liang 梁	Gold	1,000 excavated from the site; restored suit contained 2,008.	N/A	180 cm (5.9 ft)	Yes	Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo, Yongcheng Xi Han Liangguo wangding yu qinyuan, 13.
10	Tianjin Museum 天津博物館	N/A	Unknown; suit returned to China from abroad	Gold, 1,350 g (3 lbs)	3,124 plaques (more than 400 plaques added during restoration)	0.2 cm	165 cm (5.4 ft)	Yes	Bai Rongjin, “Yitao zhengui jinlü yuyi,” 59–61.

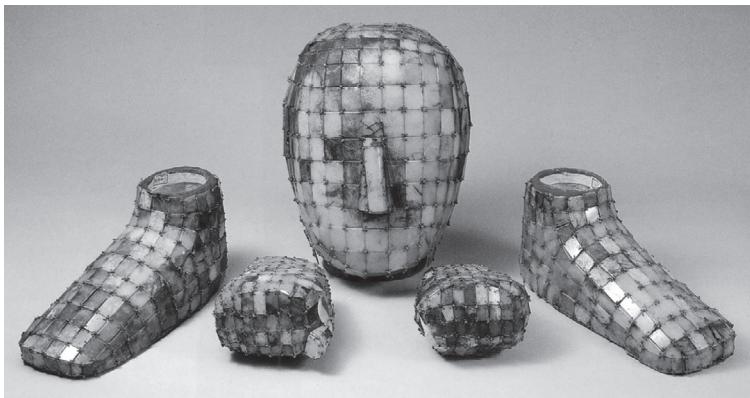


FIGURE 4.3 Gold-threaded partial jade suit from Hongjiadian, Linyi, Shandong province, Western Han dynasty. Head: height 27 cm (10.6 in), width 21.8 cm (8.6 in). Booties: height 12.3 cm (4.8 in), length 28 cm (11 in). Gloves: length 14.5 cm (5.7 in), width 12.2 cm (4.8 in). Reproduced by permission of Shanghai Far Eastern Press.

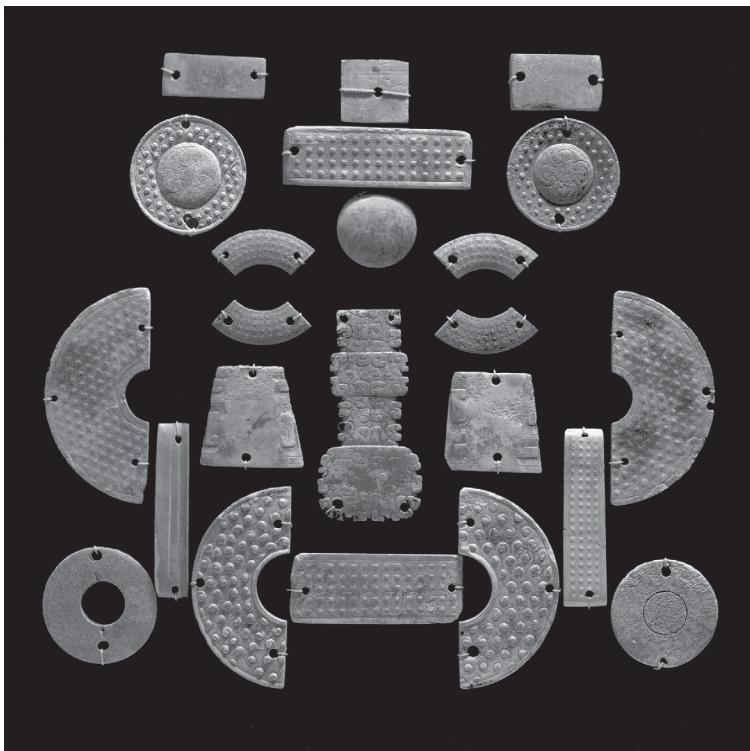


FIGURE 4.4 Jade face cover excavated from tomb 3 at Zifangshan, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Length 35 cm (13.8 in), width 28 cm (11 in). Courtesy of the Xuzhou Museum.

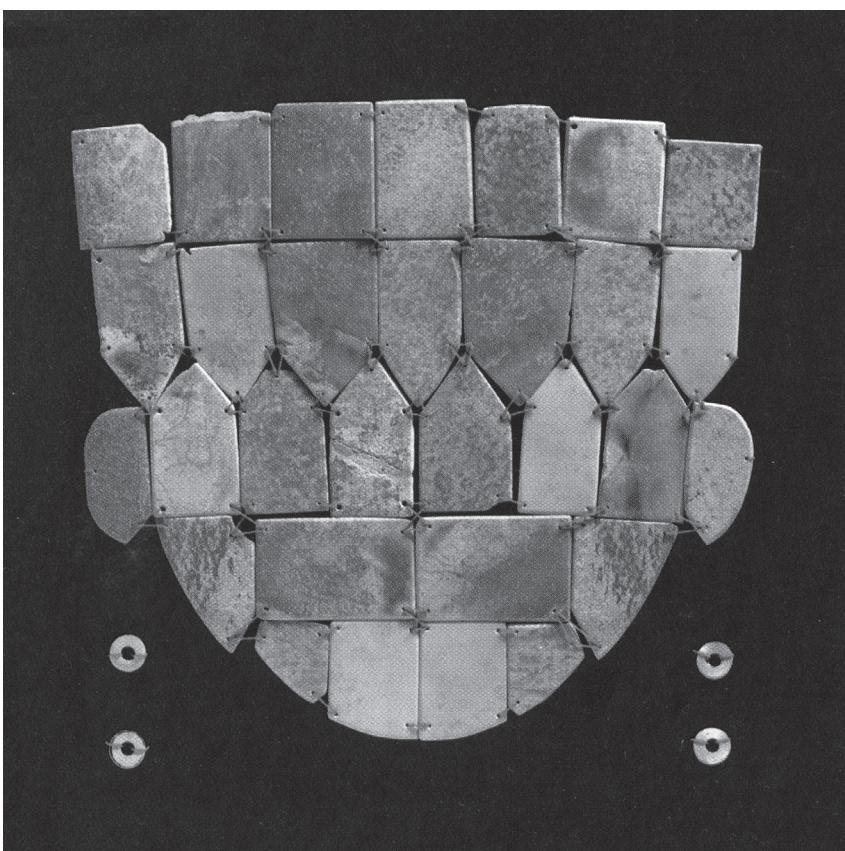


FIGURE 4.5 Stitched jade face cover excavated from tomb 1 at Houloushan, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Height 23 cm (9.1 in), width 24.5 cm (9.6 in). Thirty plaques in total. Courtesy of the Xuzhou Museum.

notions of virtue, a political situation that required clear expressions of status in burial, changing access to precious materials, new technologies, and the suit's ability to reflect the local status of kings—all made jade suits particularly successful in the early Han. Like the rock-cut style of tomb architecture, the jade suit enjoyed prolonged use during the Han because of the flexibility of the form itself. The suits were individualized creations that not only expressed a king's affiliation with the imperial house but communicated other meanings as well.

THE JADE SUIT AS A DISTINCTIVE STAGE IN JADE-FURNISHED BURIALS

Jade Suits and Earlier Jade-Furnished Burials

Before examining the meaning of the jade suit during the Han, I want to briefly discuss the origin of the genre and the jade suit's connection with earlier uses of jade in burial. Jades have been buried in Chinese tombs since the Neolithic. During that period, several cultures placed carved jades such as *bi* 璧 discs, *cong* 玳 tubes, beads, plaques, and pendants around the corpse. In tombs of the highest of elites, hundreds of jades were buried such as the 647 carved jade objects interred in tomb 12 of the Fanshan 反山 cemetery of the Liangzhu 良渚 culture.¹⁴ Following the Neolithic period, jades continued to be buried in tombs. A key development occurred around the Western Zhou period (1045–771 BCE), when elites began to use jade-embellished face covers or fabric veils embellished with numerous small carved jade pieces arranged in such a way as to abstractly suggest a face (figure 4.6).¹⁵ Some archaeologists believe the jade-embellished face covers may have been an extravagant version of the common fabric funerary veil. Such veils are still used in some areas of China today.¹⁶ These cloths allowed the corpse to be displayed during the funeral and entombment without exposing viewers to the face of the deceased, which would have undergone death stiffening (*rigor mortis*).¹⁷ At many sites where jade face covers have been discovered, jade ornaments, tablets, and *bi* discs were also found strewn about the body.¹⁸

Between the Western Zhou and the Han, elites continued to use jade in burials and new forms of jade veils were introduced. The mid-Warring States (480–221 BCE) Qinjiashan 秦家山 tomb in Jingzhou 荆州, Hubei, for example, yielded a dark black-brown mask fashioned from a single sheet of jade. Scholars believe it was originally attached to a fabric veil, similar to the jade-embellished masks discussed above.¹⁹

Other Eastern Zhou (770–256 BCE) sites yielded small assemblages of pierced jade plaques (two hundred or less) with holes indicating that they may also have been designed to be sewn together. The 187 rectangular plaques discovered in the Spring and Autumn period (770–481 BCE) tomb at Zhenshan 真山 in Suzhou 蘇州 city, for example, featured short ends pierced with six to eight holes, which indicated to archaeologists that the plaques were meant to be stitched together.²⁰ A similar proposal has been

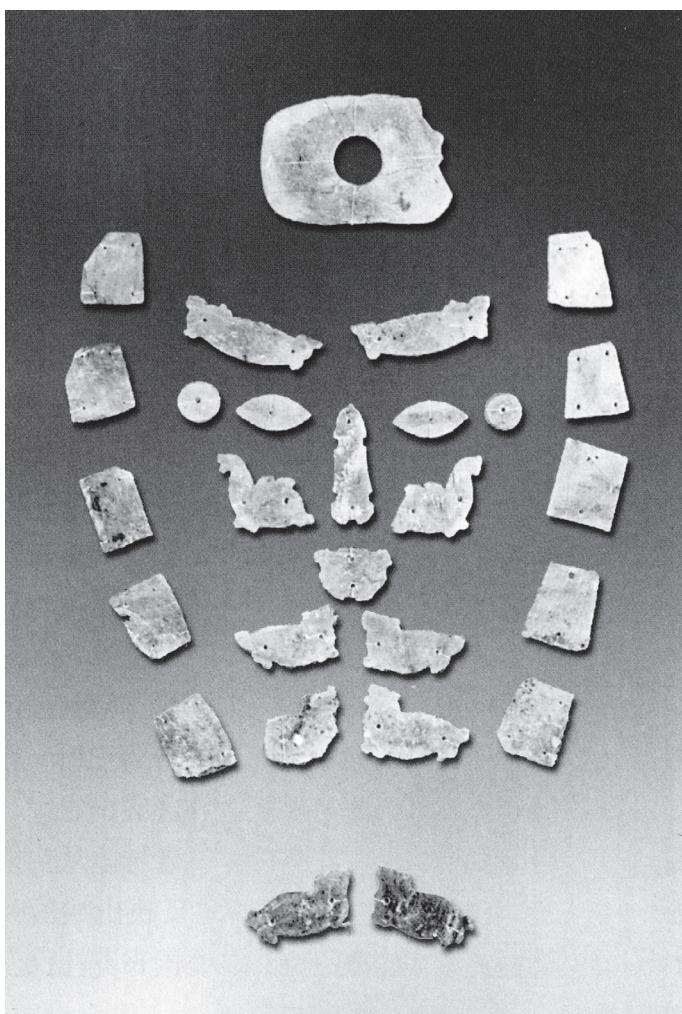


FIGURE 4.6 Jade face cover of twenty-seven pieces excavated from Zhongzhou Road tomb 1316, Luoyang, Henan province, Warring States period (480–221 BCE). National Museum of China. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

advanced for 179 jade plaques pierced with four to twelve holes that were recently looted from a Warring States tomb in the Zhao 趵 royal mausoleum complex in Hebei.²¹ Additional assemblages of pierced plaques have been found in smaller quantities in other tombs.²²

To date, there is no evidence that these plaques formed something similar to a jade suit. All of the known assemblages of pierced plaques come from looted

tombs, which means that the original position of the plaques is unknown. The piercings on many of these plaques are quite irregular, and archaeologists still do not know how (or if) the plaques originally fit together.²³

In light of this evidence, the most direct precedent for the jade suits of the Han are the eighty-seven suits of stone armor and forty-three stone helmets excavated to date from an auxiliary pit in the First Emperor of Qin's mausoleum (figures 4.7 and 4.8).²⁴ Like the jade suit, the armor was comprised of

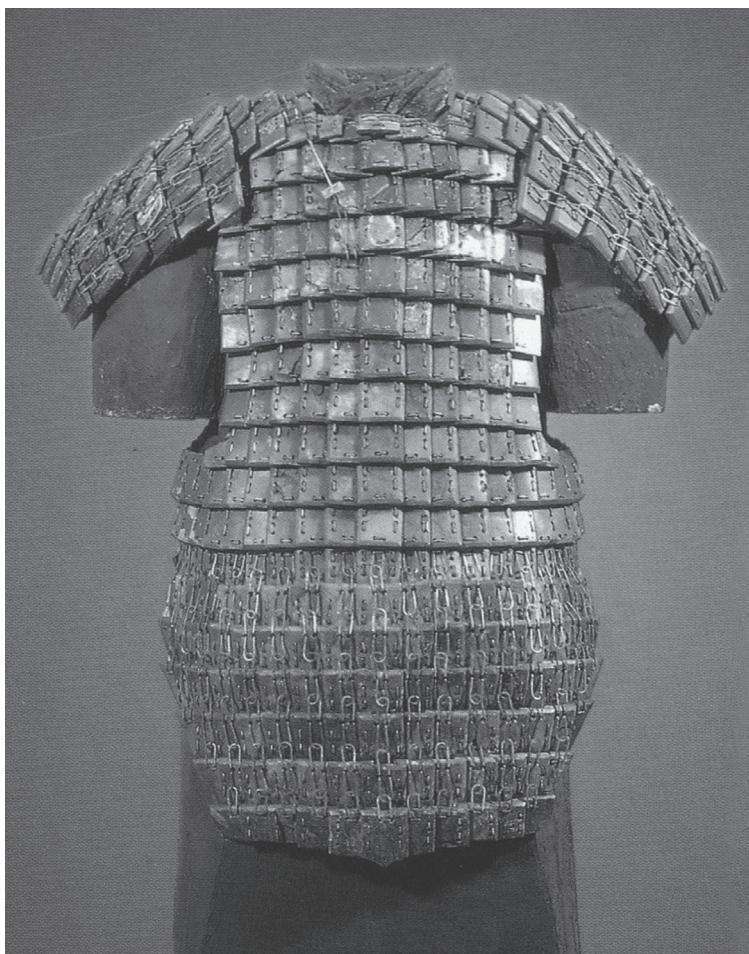


FIGURE 4.7 Limestone armor excavated from pit 9801 of the First Emperor's mausoleum, Lintong, Shaanxi province, Qin dynasty (221–207 BCE). Height 74 cm (29.1 in), width 31 cm (12.2 in). Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 4.8 Limestone helmet excavated from pit 9801 of the First Emperor's mausoleum, Lintong, Shaanxi province, Qin dynasty (221–207 BCE). Height 38 cm (15 in), width 21 cm (8.3 in). Shaanxi Provincial Archaeological Institute. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

stone plaques that were carefully cut into a variety of shapes and smoothed, polished, and punctured. The plaques of the armor were also stitched together with metallic wire, and they also featured a circular disc on the top of the helmet, which might be compared to the circular discs and round *bi* discs often used for the top of the head in jade suits. The stone plaques were cut to a thickness of 0.45–0.7 cm, which is broadly comparable to that of jade plaques from Han jade suits.²⁵

Despite their similarities, the Qin armor displays some critical manufacturing differences when compared to the Han jade suits. The Qin stone armor featured eight to twelve holes on each plaque, as opposed to the four

appearing in the majority of plaques from the Han jade suits.²⁶ The Qin armor required more holes because the plaques overlapped, whereas in the Han jade suits the plaques were generally sewn edge to edge not only to create a smoother look but also to conserve the material.²⁷ Sewing plaques edge to edge, however, would have required significantly more planning to ensure that the pieces fit together without gaps.

Past Developmental Narratives

Some previous scholars, considering China's long history of utilizing jade in burials, have proposed that jade suits developed organically from earlier practices. These scholars place jade suits at the end of a continuum of jade-furnished burials, which began in the Neolithic, "progressed" to jade-embellished face covers, then to stitched jade masks, partial suits, and finally to the full jade suit during the Western Han.²⁸ Such a narrative, however, implies a continuity of culture for roughly six thousand years—from the Xinglongwa 興隆窪 culture (ca. 6200–5400 BCE) to the Han dynasty. Moreover, it is constructed by cherry-picking from sites excavated all over continental East Asia and homogenizing the striking diversity of jade-using cultures across what would become China. It also disregards important differences in the function and manufacture of such jades. Although from one perspective, Neolithic and Zhou jade practices may appear similar since both cases present themselves in excavations as jades strewn around a corpse. However, jade-embellished face covers were unlike jades placed around the body in that they were placed over a fabric veil, which concealed the deceased's face. The jade embellishments on such veils thus not only communicated status but, as Kesner's research has highlighted, formed a mask that functioned as a new, constructed face for the deceased, viewed by those who attended the funeral.²⁹

Similarly, although jade-embellished face covers were an important precedent for the jade suit because they represented the face in jade, to say that the jade suit naturally developed from such a face cover is to ignore the magnitude of the manufacturing project involved in creating a jade suit. To create a jade suit, a team of artisans would first sketch a blueprint to determine the total number of suit pieces and the plaques required for each piece.³⁰ Typically, a suit was comprised of roughly twelve sections: a front and back head cover, a front and back chest section, two sleeves, two gloves, two legs, and a pair of booties. The plaques used for each section

were carefully calibrated: rectangular plaques were fabricated for the chest portion of the jade suit, but complex compositions such as the hands, head, and feet often required special, irregularly shaped plaques cut in triangular, trapezoidal, or rhomboid shapes (figures 4.9 and 4.10). After completing the design, artisans would choose the raw material for the jade plaques, with a careful eye to maintaining consistency of color across the plaques.³¹ They would then cut, polish, and drill the plaques, then lace them together with metallic thread.³² After the suit was laced, the edges of each suit section were bound with fine vermilion silk (sometimes with an iron bar inside for support), enabling the sections of the suit to be sewn together after they were placed over the body.³³



FIGURE 4.9 Face cover from the Shizishan jade suit, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Xuzhou Museum.

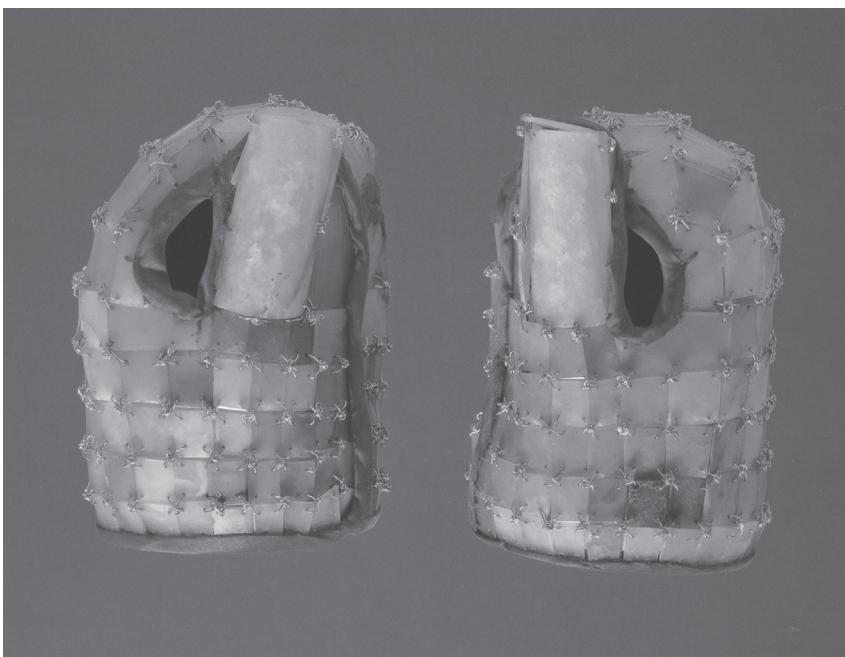


FIGURE 4.10 Gloves from the Shizishan jade suit, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Xuzhou Museum.

The meaning and impact of jade suits thus rested heavily on the highly skilled, labor-intensive way they were produced. The complex process involved in their creation prevented those who did not have access to large amounts of jade and control over the requisite amount of labor from commissioning one. The exclusivity of the jade suit was certainly a critical aspect of its success during the Han.

THE MEANINGS OF THE JADE SUIT DURING THE HAN

The discussion above has indicated that the jade suit in its first appearance represented a striking shift from the jade masks that had been manufactured previously. In this next section, I will examine why jade suits became popular in the Han, highlighting their relation to a multiplicity of factors: political, economic, cultural, and magical. In the past, one factor has often been emphasized above others—such as the suits' purported protective quality or their ability to reflect status based on the high cost and rarity of jade. This

discussion will furnish a fuller account of the circumstances that contributed to the popularity of the jade suit by examining material factors, new sumptuary requirements, the growth of material notions of virtue, and the suits' ability to communicate the trade connections of the kings and the skill of their local workshops.

Trade and Technology

The first factors to be considered in addressing the reasons why jade suits became popular among Han elites are related to materiality: specifically, the kings' increased access to high-quality jade and the development of new technology to work the material. Textual sources indicate that during the Warring States period, local rulers acquired independent trade relations that permitted them to acquire jade and other materials from western China. In the *Shiji*, for example, the strategist Su Li 蘇厲 warns King Huiwen 惠文 of Zhao (r. 298–266 BCE) that if Qin 秦 troops crossed the Gouzhu 句注 Mountains and captured the Mount Chang 常山 area, in modern-day Shanxi province, it would cut off the king's access to jades from Mount Kun 昆山.³⁴ Like the king of Zhao, the king of Qin—Ying Zheng 羸政, who would later become the First Emperor—also placed a high priority on imported jade from Mount Kun. At one point, the king of Qin, fearful of “guest ministers” who might covertly work for foreign rulers, ordered that all aliens be expelled from the state. Li Si 李斯, himself a “guest minister,” argued that this would be akin to rejecting Mount Kun jade because it was not local: “Now your majesty imports Mount Kun jade . . . and you adore it, how [is this not the same]?” (今陛下致昆山之玉, 而陛下說之, 何也).³⁵ Foreign ministers, like foreign jade, were valuable resources that could not be substituted with local stock.

In addition to increased access to material, a second factor that aided the development and popularity of jade suits was advancements in jade craft. Gu Fang, an expert in jade, has identified three main phases in the development of jade craft: the stone-tool, bronze-tool, and iron-tool stages.³⁶ Although the earliest iron implements appeared as early as the late Spring and Autumn period, jade working through the use of iron tools reached its full development during the Han.³⁷ Iron tools were harder, less brittle, and more resistant to wear, and they could be sharpened to thinner, sharper points than before. They enabled artisans to drill numerous tiny holes, resulting in fine lattice-work, which was far more difficult to accomplish in earlier periods.³⁸

The Sumptuary Crises During the Early Han

Access to material and new jade-working technologies provided the means by which artisans could more easily create jade suits. However, a variety of other reasons—political and cultural—help explain why the jade suit, as a particular product of jade craft, became so successful during the Han. Beginning with the political context, one of the key issues faced by the imperial house during the early Western Han was the problem of legitimacy. The Han founder, Liu Bang 劉邦, after all, was a mere commoner who ascended the throne after defeating his rival, Xiang Yu 項羽, in battle. The widespread belief that positions of authority should be based on merit rather than on birth placed the imperial house in a difficult position. How could the court prevent other powerful men and wealthy elites from seeking the throne for themselves? How could the imperial house convince the population that the Liu family deserved the throne in perpetuity?

During the reign of the fourth emperor, Emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE), one of his key advisers—a statesmen named Jia Yi 賈誼 (200–168 BCE)—warned the emperor that disrespect for the imperial administration had reached an alarming level and that the situation required immediate action. In the capital city, individuals had begun to “rob officials and take their gold” (剽吏而奪之金) in broad daylight.³⁹ Thieves also had begun to steal official courier carts and use them to swindle people in the provinces.⁴⁰ Jia Yi lamented, “Currently, people are all fighting to outdo one another in luxury, and the sovereign has no system. . . . People follow profit and that is all, showing no consideration for how they act” (今世以侈靡相競，而上無制……逐利乎不耳，慮念非顧行也).”⁴¹

This obsession with luxury, in Jia Yi’s opinion, was connected to a dangerous presumption that anyone, with enough resources, could become emperor. Therefore, Jia Yi contended, it was important for the emperor to convince the population of his authority (and the sovereignty of the empire’s laws) by making imperial hierarchies more visible. He explained:

People’s emotions are no different; their faces and appearances are similar. The difference between noble and base is not something naturally rooted in appearance. That which we rely on to distinguish the noble and the base and to make clear the respected and petty are rank, position, clothing, and titles.

人之情不異，面目狀貌同類，貴賤之別非人天根着於形容也。所持以別貴賤明尊卑者，等級、勢力、衣服、號令也。⁴²

For Jia Yi, convincing people of one's authority required some constructive work: it was a matter of public image, which required a hardening of status divisions through material expression. The emperor and his administration had to be visually separated from the common people, including the empire's merchants. Only then would the hierarchy set in place by the administration become a natural fixture.

To visually separate people of various ranks, Jia recommended sumptuary laws. His proposal was extreme: every conceivable material and symbolic expression of rank was to be graded and regulated—flags and banners, tallies and seals,⁴³ ritual treatment by the emperor, hats and shoes, garments and sashes, jade rings and pendants, carriages and horses, wives and concubines, favors and gifts, palaces and chambers, beds and mats, vessels, foodstuffs and beverages, sacrifices, funerals, and burials.⁴⁴ He even maintained that people's access to luxury items could be more easily regulated if the government prevented the common people from using money. He proposed that the mining of copper, the minting of money, and even the use of money ought to be prohibited for the average person.⁴⁵ The result of a sumptuary system like this would be that “when the people of the empire see a person's clothing, they will know if that person is noble or base. When from afar they view a person's insignia, they will understand that person's position” (天下見其服而知貴賤，望其章而知其勢).⁴⁶ According to Jia, “The (system) should be widely transmitted so that the entire empire knows [whom] to honor” (傳遠而天下識祇).⁴⁷ Honor would thus be based on position, not wealth.

We do not know if, or to what extent, Jia Yi's system was adopted during the early Han. However, current archaeological evidence does indicate that jade suits were likely restricted to Liu family members and served as a marker of rank.⁴⁸ Full jade suits have only been found in the tombs of early Western Han kings and marquises of the Liu family. From the histories, we know that jade suits were also occasionally conferred on special favorites, such as Huo Guang 霍光 (d. 68 BCE) and Dong Xian 董賢 (d. 1 BCE).⁴⁹ Thus, jade suits appear to have been one way the imperial house materially distinguished members of the imperial family and other favorites from ultrawealthy individuals in the empire. The ideas of Jia Yi, therefore, have a contemporaneity with the period when expression of status through jade suits gained ascendancy.⁵⁰

Cultural Meanings of the Jade Suit

That jade suits were introduced in order to separate elites from commoners tells us something about their function, but it still does not explain why this

exact form was selected. For this, we need to understand more about the complex meanings associated with jade in the early empire. Jade's power in the early Han period, I will argue, lay in its association with multiple narratives, enabling it to appeal to a variety of people who thought in opposing ways about special materials like jade and the special powers attributed to it.

PRESERVING THE BODY

The most prominent narrative in scholarly literature concerning the invention of jade suits is that they were created, in Li Shuicheng's words, "to preserve the body eternally through jade's supernatural power."⁵¹ Li is echoing many others when he argues that this had been the principal function of jades used in burial since the Neolithic.⁵² In this view, fully covering the body in a stitched jade suit seemingly turned the deceased into a stone statue that would be preserved forever.

Other scholars have disputed the claim that the principal function of jade suits was to preserve the body. Miranda Brown, most notably, has argued that pre-Buddhist texts from the Han universally indicate that "literate members of the elite took for granted the decomposition of the corpse" and did not attempt to preserve the body using jade.⁵³ According to Brown's careful assessment, the earliest text to claim that jade had the power to preserve—the fourth century CE text *Baopuzi* 抱朴子—reflects the specific ideas of Daoists who lived in the mid-fourth century CE and after.⁵⁴ At that time, many Daoists, possibly influenced by Buddhism, sought to preserve the body using jade, self-cultivation, and other techniques for their possible resurrection.⁵⁵

Subsequent studies, such as Wu Hung's *The Art of Yellow Springs* (2010), have held that jade was indeed used in the Western Han period for the purpose of preserving the body. Wu contends that the way jades were layered over the corpse in Mancheng 滿城 tomb 1 presents direct evidence of the patron's intention. Underneath the jade suit discovered at that site, jade plugs were used to stop up the corpse's ears, nostrils, anus, and sex organ. Flat covers were also placed over the deceased's eyes and mouth. Meanwhile, eighteen *bi* discs were either tied together or sewn onto thick fabric to form a shroud that covered the deceased's upper body.⁵⁶ Wu argues that in the process of jades being applied to the body in this way, "the corpse gradually disappeared and was replaced. It became less and less a body of flesh vulnerable to physical decay, but more and more like a solid statue untouchable by time or the elements."⁵⁷ Wu is basically supplying

archaeological evidence that connects early practices with what Ge Hong wrote about slightly later.

Current debates thus presume a one-or-the-other stance. Some contend, based on archaeology, that jade was used to preserve the body, and others contend, based on textual sources, that it did not. If we look at the textual record, however, we discover that the situation was rather more complex. Jade had multiple associations in ancient China—and naturally, not everyone in Han times agreed on all of the attendant meanings. My point is that there were several narratives connected with the material of jade. These narratives did much to promote the idea of power in the jade suit.

As Brown noted in her study, many elites of the early empire opposed the notion that jade protected the corpse. Many texts of the Han period in particular convey a direct and strong objection. In the “Annals of Shang,” a section of the *Shiji*, for example, Sima Qian presents a story of the archetypical licentious ruler, the tyrant Zhou 紂, who was the last ruler of the Shang dynasty (1550–1045 BCE). Tyrant Zhou caused the fall of the Shang state, because he led an extravagant and debauched lifestyle while his people were overworked and starved. According to the *Shiji*, his palaces were stuffed with treasures financed by the people along with rare birds and beasts. He held parties—such as the one at Shaqiu 沙丘—where he filled a pool with wine, hung meats so that they resembled a forest, and ordered “naked men and women to chase one another and engage in drinking long into the night.”⁵⁸ When righteous King Wu 武 of the Zhou dynasty (r. 1045–1043 BCE) vanquished the tyrant Zhou of the Shang, the text records that the latter—certain of his impending fate—climbed on top of his famed Deer Terrace, “covered his clothing with his special jades and immolated himself.”⁵⁹ Allegedly, Zhou attached the jades to his clothing to prevent himself from being burned alive—to show his supernatural power to his people. But Sima Qian paints this last effort as another of the king’s misguided follies: the jades failed to protect him from the fire. When King Wu reached the capital, he gathered up Zhou’s corpse for public execution—shooting it with arrows, ceremonially striking it, and finally beheading him and hanging his head on a white banner to advertise the defeat of the Shang by the Zhou house.⁶⁰

This story highlights many of the key cultural associations connected with jade. First, some, like the tyrant Zhou, believed that jade could protect a body from fire or death. Sima Qian, a Han intellectual, revealed his skepticism toward this practice by relaying the horrible death suffered by

Zhou despite his attempt to use magic to save himself. Given that Sima's own emperor regularly engaged the services of such masters of techniques (known as *fangshi* 方士), the story may have been simply a veiled criticism of his own time.

Other intellectuals during the Han articulated a similarly doubtful attitude toward claims of jade's preservative power. The *Huainanzi* 淮南子 text, for example, argues that sending off the dead "wrapped in scales [of jade]" (*linshi* 鱗施) was an extravagant luxury that brought about poverty and "was of no aid to dry bones and rotting flesh" (無益於槁骨腐肉也).⁶¹ In the *Hanshu*, Yang Wangsun 楊王孫 (fl. 140–90 BCE) similarly states:

Bound up by presented silk, separated by the inner and outer coffins, the limbs and body bound by cords, the mouth holding jade stones, [the corpse] wishes to transform but does not get to; the rot becomes dried shriveled meat, and only after a thousand years, when the inner and outer coffin have decayed, does it get to revert to the soil.

裹以幣帛，鬲以棺槨，支體絡束，口含玉石，欲化不得，鬱為枯腊，千載之後，棺槨朽腐，乃得歸土。⁶²

Although Yang concedes that the practice of using thick coffins and jade in the mouth might delay the reversion of the body into the soil, he still argues that in the end, the body's only fate is decomposition.

Nonetheless, the presence in the Han of arguments like these—which assert that no matter the treatment, the corpse will decay—indicates there were people who believed that jade did protect the body. Otherwise, there would be no need for texts like these to make statements to the contrary. Thus, we can surmise that what might be referred to as a folk belief concerning jade's protective power most likely existed in popular culture. Those who subscribed to the notion, when they saw or heard about rulers clothed in jade, would have believed that their rulers possessed a special type of supernatural power that was drawn from the jade material.

THE MATERIAL OF VIRTUE

The jade-as-preservative narrative, however, was not the only one. Indeed, it may not have been the most important for many who selected the suits for burial. At this time, another aspect of jade may have been more important:

its physical connection as the material manifestation of virtue and—related to this—its ability to serve as a symbol of ruling authority.

In early China, since at least the Eastern Zhou period, jade had been linked with virtue and often served as a metaphor for the refined individual. For example, in the *Analects*, Confucius refers to himself as a fine piece of jade:

Zigong said, “If you possessed a piece of beautiful jade, would you hide it away in a locked box, or would you try to sell it at a good price?” The Master responded, “Oh, I would sell it! I would sell it! I am just waiting for the right offer.”⁶³

Confucius used jade as a metaphor for himself because in the words of the *Odes*, a cultivated person works on his nature so that it is “as if cut, as if polished; as if carved, as if ground” (如切如磋，如琢如磨).⁶⁴ A beautiful jade is a stone that has been cut and polished in such a way as to highlight its unique natural coloration, patterning, and translucence.

Although jade had been likened to virtue since the time of Confucius, a transition in cultural notions of jade occurred during the Warring States period. During that time, a seminal text titled Five Phases (*wuxing* 五行) argued that jade not only served as a metaphor for virtue but also that the virtuous person took on qualities of jade when he or she became humane (*ren* 仁), wise (*zhi* 智), and sagacious (*sheng* 聖), all virtues associated with high levels of self-cultivation. Consider the following passage about the development of wisdom:

Contemplating knowledge, one develops. When one develops, one obtains it. When one obtains it, one does not forget it. When one does not forget it, then one is clear-sighted. When one is clear-sighted, one sees a worthy man. When one sees a worthy man, one acquires the appearance of jade. When one acquires the appearance of jade, it (knowledge) takes form (in the body). When it takes form (in the body), then one is wise.

智之思也悵(長)，悵(長)則得，得則不亡(忘)，不亡(忘)則明，明則見臤(賢)人，見臤(賢)人則玉色，玉色則型(形)，型(形)則智。⁶⁵

Here, the adept begins his journey of self-cultivation with the contemplation of knowledge. At this phase, knowledge is external to the self. By the end, knowledge takes physical form in the body and the person acquires the

appearance of jade. In Mark Csikszentmihalyi's words, the development of this virtue "explicitly causes an actual physiological change in a person."⁶⁶ Notably, for our purposes, the physiological change is an unusual one: a person begins to physically resemble jade.

The *Wuxing* text just quoted contains similar passages regarding humane (*ren*) individuals and sages. A humane person begins by contemplating humaneness. When he or she acquires the appearance of jade (*yuse* 玉色), he or she becomes humane.⁶⁷ Similarly, those who achieve sagehood begin by contemplating sagacity and end by acquiring the "tone of jade" (*yuyin* 玉音).⁶⁸ In these three cases, the critical sign that a person has become humane, wise, or sagacious is that they look or sound like jade.

In Csikszentmihalyi's assessment, the *Wuxing*'s new claim that the successful adept looks and appears like jade developed in response to criticisms that had been leveled against Confucians—namely, that they made "false claims of acting out of virtue."⁶⁹ Claiming that virtuous men had a changed appearance was a way of furnishing physical evidence of internal transformation. However, the text itself also alludes to other, material reasons for this new philosophy of jade. Throughout the *Wuxing* text, the writer seems particularly interested in comparing jade to bronze and remarking on the superiority of the former. One passage, for example, states,

"Bronze sounding and jade resonating along with it," this is a person possessing virtue. The "sound of bronze" is goodness; The "tone of jade" is sagaciousness. Goodness is the Way of humans; Virtue is the [Way] of Heaven. Only one who possesses virtue is able to [make] "bronze sound and jade resonate with it."⁷⁰

金聖(聲)，而玉晨(振)之，又(有)惠(德)者也。金聖(聲)，善也；玉音，聖也。善，人道也；惠(德)，而〈天〉【道也】。唯又(有)惠(德)者，狀(然)句(後)能金聖(聲)而玉晨(振)之。⁷¹

In these lines, the *Wuxing* presents a new take on a passage that also appears in the *Mencius*. The latter text describes instruments made from bronze and jade as playing complementary roles in a musical performance: "When bronze [bells?] sound, it is the beginning of the orderly sequence; when jade [chimestones?] resonate with them, it is the end of the orderly sequence" (金聲也者，始條理也；玉振之也者，終條理也).⁷² Although both texts are concerned with the materiality of music, the *Mencius* text places equal

emphasis on bronze and jade, whereas the *Wuxing* text clearly views jade as superior to bronze. The *Wuxing* imagines the trajectory toward sagehood as developmental: one starts by achieving goodness, or the sound of bronze, and ends in sagehood with the tone of jade. In other words, for the *Wuxing* text, bronze is good, but jade is better.

At the same time that the *Wuxing* text was written, other Warring States texts also began to lay out sumptuary systems based on jade, seemingly replacing former systems that had based expressions of rank on bronze. For example, the *Liji* 禮記 states, “A gentleman was never without his jades, excepting for some sufficient reason; he regarded the pieces of jade as emblematic of virtue” (君子無故玉不去身，君子於玉比德焉).⁷³ In the *Liji*, the jades worn by the gentleman served as a constant sign of his status and his commitment to virtue. For that reason, he makes sure to always wear them on his body. Following this statement, the text identifies specific pendants and cords that ought to be worn to distinguish rank: the Son of Heaven should wear white jade suspended on a black cord; a duke or marquis, “mountain black” jade on a vermilion cord; a Great Officer, an “aqua-blue” jade on a black cord.⁷⁴ The *Liji* is not the only text that does this; similar prescriptions can be found in the *Zhouli* 周禮 (*Rites of Zhou*), the *Yili* 儀禮 (*Ceremonies and Rites*), the *Liji* 禮記 (*Record of Ritual*), and the *Xunzi* 荀子 text.⁷⁵

Although the idea of using jade as a marker of rank based on its connection with benevolent virtue was introduced during the Warring States period, there is no evidence that the systems proposed by any of these texts were ever adopted. As Jessica Rawson has argued, Warring States texts “contain an idealized prescription of how jades should be used and not a description of how actual jades were used.”⁷⁶ This, however, would change during the Han.

Implementing Earlier Visions of Jade During the Han

In the Han, and in particular under Emperor Wen, a twenty-two-year-old prodigy—Jia Yi, who entered Emperor Wen’s court in 178 BCE—would outline a new empirewide role for jade. The emperor soon recognized Jia Yi’s talent and quickly raised him to the position of palace counselor (*taizhong dafu* 太中大夫). In his memorials to the emperor, Jia Yi built on the notion derived from *Wuxing* thought concerning jade’s materiality, but instead of arguing that the sage physically resembles and “sounds like”

jade, Jia contended that jade itself physically embodies the idea of benevolent virtue (*de* 德) and its six principles:

That which is able to give form to human virtue is only jade. A representation of benevolent virtue and an embodiment of its six principles can be fully seen in jade. Each has its form, and for this reason, jade is able to effect the six principles of virtue.

而能象人德者，獨玉也。寫德體六理，盡見於玉也，各有狀，是故以玉效德之六理。⁷⁷

In Jia's words, jade is said to “*xiang*” (象)—“to give or bring into shape”—benevolent virtue.⁷⁸ Only jade is able to embody human virtue's (*de*) six principles: among others features, it is glossy and reflective like the *dao*; thick, moist, and firm like human nature (*xing* 性); and full, bright, and shiny like perception (*ming* 明).⁷⁹ Because jade embodies virtue, people can learn about virtue from jade, simply by looking at it. According to Jia:

Although benevolent virtue is completely given to all things and all things have it, it is small and difficult to detect. Consider jade—a true depiction of *de*. Since the six principles are in jade and are obvious and easy to see, [people] raise up jade as a way to explain them. The way by which all things receive [benevolent virtue] is that they are of one body with jade.

德畢施物，物雖有之，微細難識。夫玉者，真德寫也。六理在玉，明而易見也。是以舉玉以諭，物之所受於德者，與玉一體也。⁸⁰

Because jade is of one body with virtue, Jia argued, to possess and observe jade was one way people could cultivate themselves. In other passages, Jia placed the viewing of jade on par with learning about virtue (*de*) from other sources, such as studying the classics—the *Documents*, the *Odes*, the *Changes*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, the *Rites*, and the *Music*.⁸¹

Jia's emphasis on viewing jade, as distinct from the much earlier *Wuxing* (and similar) texts, affected his recommendations for the imperial use of jade. In Jia Yi's system, the emperor's identity would be communicated through the jades he wore on his body, which were ultimately viewed by others:

In antiquity, a sage ruler at rest had laws and standards. When he moved, he was refined and resplendent. Positioned between his guards and his ministers, he sounded

his jades as he walked. The jades that sounded were pendant jades. On top, he wore paired *heng*, on the bottom paired *huang*, with *chongya* and pearls in between, and jades of other shapes mixed in.

古者聖王居有法則，動有文章，位執戒輔，鳴玉以行。鳴玉者，佩玉也。上有雙珩，下有雙璜，衝牙蠶珠以納其間，瑤璫以雜之。⁸²

Some earlier Warring States texts, such as the *Zhouli* and the *Xunzi*, had recommended that the emperor and his subordinates hold jade tablets and other objects during ritual ceremonies in order to formally signify their status hierarchies.⁸³ Jia's advice was different. Along with the *Liji*, he emphasized the importance of the emperor's displaying his jades directly on his body. That way, when he walked, the jades would sound, and when he was at rest, he would appear refined.

To Jia, jade was a rare material that negated its own status as a luxury because of its association with refined virtue. When worn by the emperor, he believed, it would communicate to the population the ruler's distinctive status, highlighting the notion that his rule was based on virtue rather than on pedigree. This can be contrasted with the bronze vessels of prior eras, which were objects designed to announce one's lineage.

At this point, we do not have sufficient evidence to determine whether Emperor Wen adopted Jia Yi's ideas concerning jade. However, his ideas were certainly contemporaneous with the special emphasis on jade craft in the early Han. Other studies have shown that Jia Yi's recommendations in areas such as the general abatement of punishments and the restructuring of the territories of invested kings had a strong influence on imperial policy during Emperor Wen's reign.⁸⁴ Given that Jia Yi had attained a powerful role in policies of all kinds, even if his ideas about jade were not implemented in full, they could have contributed to the court's increasing use of jade as an ornament and its use of jade suits as markers of rank in burial.

THE JADE SUIT AND THE HAN KINGS

We have discussed several factors that likely contributed to the development of the jade suit during the Han, including an increase in trade networks, refinements in iron tools, emerging political circumstances, and the variety of cultural meanings related to the jade suit. A final factor was the suit's ability

not only to connect local elites with the imperial house but also to project the power and artisanal strength of workshops located in the kings' own areas.

Past scholars have read jade suits principally as projections of imperial authority, based on the idea that they were all manufactured in the capital region and given to the kings as gifts. As evidence, these scholars typically cite two examples from recent archaeology. First, on the back of some of the plaques that comprised the suit made for the Eastern Han (25–220 CE) king of Zhongshan 中山, Liu Yan 劉焉 (d. 90 CE), *Zhongshan* was written in black script. It has been assumed that the suit was inscribed in this way to distinguish it from other suits that were presumably being manufactured at the same time in capital workshops.⁸⁵ Second, two rectangular pieces of sewn-together jade plaques were found padding the torso of the jade suit from Dingxian 定縣 tomb 40 (figure 4.11).⁸⁶ These two pieces, archaeologists believe, may have been severed from the suit when it was shortened to fit the body of the deceased. The inference is that suits were manufactured in the capital and then shipped to localities upon the death of a king.⁸⁷

Without question, the histories make clear that *some* jade suits were produced in imperial workshops.⁸⁸ However, I will present evidence that, at least in the Western Han period, some jade suits were also produced locally by kings, as reflections of their own power and identity. First, I look at general textual and archaeological evidence for the presence of jade workshops



FIGURE 4.11 Gold-threaded jade suit from tomb 40, Bajiaolang village, Dingxian county, Hebei province, Western Han, first century BCE. National Museum of China. Photograph by the author.

in the kingdoms. Then, I examine differences between the suits—including differences in material; the size, number, thickness, and shape of the jade plaques; the quantity of metallic thread; the drilling method; and the representation of the body—that provide further evidence for local manufacture. After reviewing the evidence for local manufacture, I will then propose that in the genre of jade suits, a trend can be observed that we have also noted in other areas of material culture such as tomb figurines: namely, innovations in jade suits coming from the kings lead to counter-innovations on the part of the imperial court.

General Evidence for Local Manufacture

In recent years, archaeologists have paid increasing attention to evidence for the existence of local workshops. First, they have made careful note in archaeological sites of scrap jade and works that seem to be half-finished. Several examples have been found in Xuzhou. At Baiyunshan 白雲山 Cement Plant tomb 1 (dated to the Western Han), for example, archaeologists have uncovered a half-worked *bi* disc that was in the process of being cut into two jade *huang* 璞, as well as a round piece of jade that appears to have been cut out of the center of a *bi* disc.⁸⁹ Moving ahead in time, the Eastern Han (25–220 CE) Qiaojiahu 喬家湖 tomb in Xuzhou also yielded scraps of jade that appear to have been discarded in the process of carving jade *bi* discs.⁹⁰

Among Chu-area jades, scholars have also observed a strong local style, another factor that points to local production. For example, from the Shizishan site, archaeologists have excavated a jade *huang* piece with more than twenty dragons in relief, as well as a jade axe with intricately carved dragons. These are unlike any other excavated jade pieces dating to the Western Han.⁹¹ Two jade pendants in the shape of archer's rings from the Beidongshan 北洞山 site, one with a dragon and phoenix and the other with six hornless dragons, are likewise without parallel.⁹²

At the very least, by the time of the Eastern Han, the kingdom of Chu had its own workshops. The *Hou Hanshu* states that at that time the Chu king, Liu Ying 劉英 (r. 41–71 CE), instructed his workshops to create a jade crane and a golden turtle and to label them as auspicious omens, based on the advice of a “master of techniques.”⁹³

In Guangzhou, much farther south, archaeologists have also uncovered evidence of local workshops. They have discovered incompletely carved *bi* discs as well as pieces of pseudo-jade in the western side chamber of the

king of Nanyue 南越's tomb. They were composed of the same material used for some plaques found in the bodice and pants of the king's jade suit (figure. 4.12). In the Nanyue suit, only the head cover, gloves, and shoes were manufactured from plaques that were sewn together. The bodice and pants of the suit, in contrast, were composed of plaques that were not punctured, but tied with ribbons and attached to a fabric backing. The pieces of pseudo-jade found in the tomb matched this latter type of plaque.⁹⁴

Finally, a later, Song-era 宋 (960–1279 CE) source indicates that the Han-era kingdom of Guangling 廣陵 also had its own workshop. We are told that the Guangling king offered money to the most famous jade artisan of the day, Yan Gui 顏規 of Wu 吳 commandery (modern-day Suzhou), to come to his kingdom to carve jade.⁹⁵ Many fine jades have been excavated from royal tombs in the kingdom of Guangling, testifying to the veracity of this account.⁹⁶

Differences in the Manufacture of the Suits

In addition to broad textual and archaeological evidence, the jade suits themselves present evidence of local manufacture. I will address each category of evidence individually.

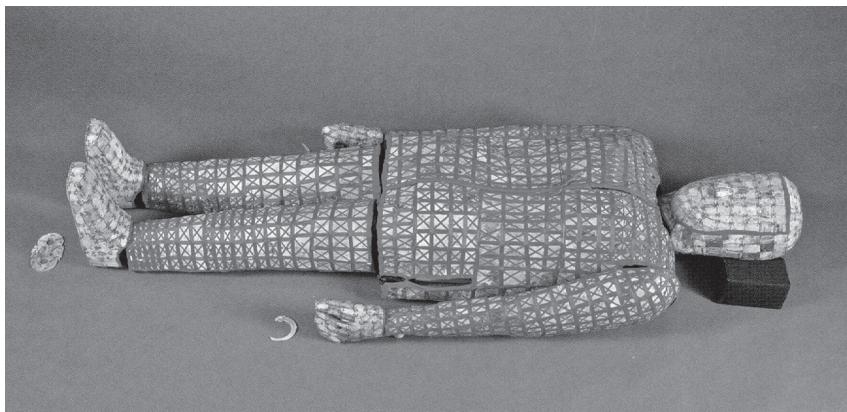


FIGURE 4.12 Silk-threaded jade suit from the tomb of the king of Nanyue, Guangzhou, Guangdong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Length 1.73 m (5.7 ft). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

MATERIAL

One of the most critical differences among the suits is the quality of jade used in their manufacture. To date, scientific studies have been conducted on samples from four Western Han jade suits: Shizishan, Nanyue, Shenjushan 神居山, and Mancheng. These studies, which I discuss below, have found considerable differences in jade quality and color among these suits. Such differences would be expected if the suits were produced by different workshops.

In 2010, Gu et al. tested plaques from the Shizishan jade suit and jade coffin against jade samples from nine other sources in China and Taiwan. They determined that the Shizishan jades were most similar to nephrite jade mined in Khotan (Hetian 和田), Xinjiang, and were unlike seven other jade sources, including one local source only four hundred kilometers from the Shizishan tomb.⁹⁷ The researchers compared the jades based on several factors including chemical composition, infrared spectra, Raman spectra, and rare-earth elements.

In 2012, Luo Han et al. compared twenty-five plaques from the Nanyue suit with forty-three plaques from the Shizishan suit and coffin.⁹⁸ Their results again supported the conclusion that the Shizishan jades likely derived from Khotan.⁹⁹ The study also concluded that the Nanyue suit was composed of five types of jade. The first type was Khotan jade; however, the color—white-green to dark green—was of a lower quality than the white to milky-white jade plaques from Shizishan. The second and third types may also have been from Khotan, but they were coarse jades of a very low quality. The fourth type exhibited qualities similar to Xiuyan 崧岩 jades from Liaoning. Fifth, they also found that the suit contained pseudo-jades (*jiayu* 假玉) or stones from Guangdong's Guangning 廣寧 county (often referred to as Guanlü 廣綠 jades).¹⁰⁰ The pseudo-jades found in the king of Nanyue's suit were positioned in the chest portion, where the plaques were not pierced but tied together with ribbons. This section was hastily composed, possibly because of the king's death. Pseudo-jades may have been used because the king died prematurely and/or because the king's workshops simply ran out of the better-quality jades.

A third study, conducted in 1994, determined that pseudo-jades were not only used to create a suit for a foreign king in the empire's hinterland, but also for kings in the heartland of the Han empire. This study examined six plaques

from the Shenjushan 神居山 jade suit found in a royal tomb in Gaoyou 高郵, Jiangsu province. Half of the plaques were nephrite (jade); the other half were acidic lava pseudo-jades.¹⁰¹

Finally, in 1980, Zhang Peishan, a fellow of the Institute of Geology of the Chinese Academy of Geological Sciences, studied one plaque from Liu Sheng 劉勝's (r. 154–113) jade suit from the Mancheng site, as well as three other jade objects from that tomb and the tomb of Liu Sheng's wife, Dou Wan 獗綰, and conducted rock-mineral identification, chemical analysis, and X-ray diffraction. He determined that the plaque from Liu Sheng's suit was consistent in its mineralogical composition and physical properties with Khotan jade from Xinjiang.¹⁰² However, Gu Fang, a leading recognized expert in ancient jade, has maintained that the Mancheng suits, based on external observation, resemble Xiuyan jade sourced from modern-day Liaoning province.¹⁰³

These studies indicate that considerable differences in jade quality and color can be observed across the jade suits of the early Western Han. The Shizishan suit, with its milky-white color, was comprised of jade that far eclipses the other suits in quality. Even though the Shizishan and Nanyue suits are both believed to have been fabricated with Khotan jade from Xinjiang, the quality of the jade differed dramatically between the two suits.

Second, the pseudo-jades identified in the Nanyue and Shenjushan suits present strong evidence for local manufacture. Scientists have not identified the source of the stone used for the pseudo-jades in the Shenjushan suit. In the case of Nanyue, the king's suit should not contain local pseudo-jades if it was manufactured at the imperial capital. Indeed, local manufacture makes sense in the case of the Nanyue suit because Zhao Mo 趙眛, the king for whom the suit was made, was not a Liu family member, but rather a foreign king who had usurped the title of emperor, as had his grandfather who reigned before him, Zhao Tuo 趙佗 (r. 203–137 BCE).¹⁰⁴ As additional suits are tested and as the database of jade samples is expanded, it will be increasingly possible to understand more about the mining and flow of jade across the Western Han empire.¹⁰⁵

SIZE, NUMBER, THICKNESS, AND SHAPE OF THE PLAQUES

As can be observed in table 4.1, one of the most distinctive differences between the suits is the exceptional variety in the number, size, thickness,

and shape of the plaques that comprised each suit. The suit with the highest quality of jade was also the suit with the highest number of plaques—the Shizishan suit, with 4,248 plaques of white, Hetian jade.¹⁰⁶ This is more than 3.5 times the number of plaques used in the suit from Dingxian 定縣 tomb 40 (hereafter, the Dingxian suit), which contained a mere 1,203 plaques.¹⁰⁷ Differences in the height of the tomb occupant cannot explain the discrepancy: the length of the King of Chu's suit (the Shizishan suit) at 175 centimeters suggests that he was shorter than the king of Zhongshan (the Dingxian suit), whose suit was 182 centimeters long.¹⁰⁸

The plaques from the king of Chu's suit were not only smaller but also thinner than those of other suits. The thinnest plaques comprising the suit of the king of Jiangdu 江都 from Dayunshan 大雲山, at 0.15 cm (figure 4.13), were closest to those of the king of Chu's suit, which measured 0.12–0.25 cm in thickness.¹⁰⁹ The jade pieces from the chest section of Dou Wan's suit from Mancheng (figure 4.14) were four times thicker, measuring 0.5 cm in thickness.¹¹⁰

Most of the suits contained a similar range of shapes. However, at two sites—the king of Chu's tomb at Beidongshan and a brick tomb of a high-ranking aristocrat at Zhangjiapu 張家堡 in Xi'an—several “fish-scale” plaques have been excavated (figure 4.15).¹¹¹ In the Qin First Emperor's tomb, armor fashioned from fish-scale plaques was used to distinguish

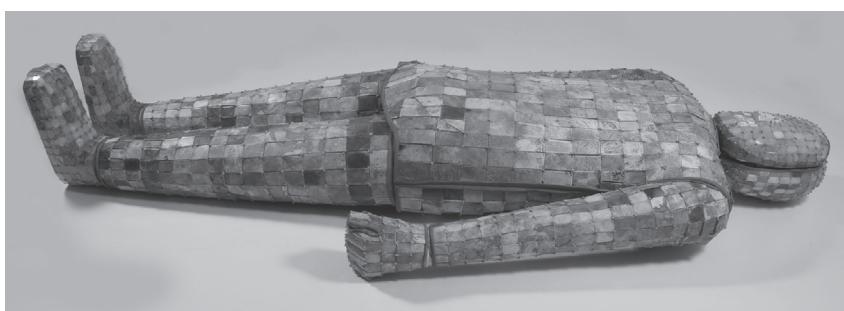


FIGURE 4.13 Gold-threaded jade suit from Dayunshan tomb 2, Xuyi, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Height 28 cm (11 in), length 175 cm (5.7 ft), width 76 cm (29.9 in). Courtesy of the Nanjing Museum.



FIGURE 4.14 Gold-threaded jade suit from Mancheng tomb 2, the tomb of Dou Wan, Mancheng, Hebei province, Western Han dynasty. Length 1.72 m (5.6 ft). Hebei Museum. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

generals of high rank.¹¹² Because fish-scale plaques required overlap, if they were used to create a jade suit, they would have necessitated more material than typical rectangular plaques. However, since only a few plaques have been found at both sites, it remains unclear whether such plaques originally belonged to a full jade suit. At Beidongshan in particular, fish-scale plaques were found together with rectangular, trapezoidal, and other plaques of



FIGURE 4.15 "Fish-scale" jade plaques pierced with seven holes excavated from the Beidongshan tomb, Xuzhou, Jiangsu province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Xuzhou Museum.

irregular shape, raising the question of how such plaques might originally have fit together.¹¹³

THREADING AND DRILLING METHODS

We also observe critical differences in the amount of gold thread used to sew the suits. One would expect that making suits with a higher quantity

of jade pieces would also entail expending more gold thread to stitch the pieces together. However, this was not always the case. For example, 2,580 grams of gold was used for the thread on the Dingxian suit.¹¹⁴ This is roughly 3.4 times more gold than was used for the Dayunshan suit, even though the Dayunshan suit, after restoration, contained considerably more plaques.¹¹⁵

Not only did the amount of thread differ, but there were considerable differences in the way the holes in the jade plaques were drilled. Luo Han's comparative research on the Nanyue and Shizishan suits has revealed that the Shizishan plaques were drilled using a single-face method: each hole was drilled from the back side of the plaque, ensuring that the hole would appear small and clean-cut on the front. The thread holes on the plaques from the Nan Yue suit, by comparison, were drilled from both sides because the plaques were thicker.¹¹⁶ They also used different drill bits: the Shizishan drill bits were tapered, whereas those used for Nanyue and Mancheng were tubular.¹¹⁷ If all the suits were made by the imperial house, we would generally expect that they would all be drilled the same way (and with similar bits). Because not all of the suits are contemporaneous, however, some differences may represent temporal developments or production in different imperial factories.

REPRESENTATION OF THE BODY

The final piece of evidence that at least some suits were locally manufactured is the variation observed in the way each suit represented the body. Although noses have been found on all full suits discovered to date, several full suits—namely, the examples from Huoshan 火山, Nanyue, Shenjushan, Dayunshan, and Xishan 僕山 tomb 1—did not explicitly represent the eyes.¹¹⁸ Those that did represent the eyes did so in different ways. Two suits—the Tianjin 天津 suit (figure 4.16) and the Mancheng suit of Dou Wan, Liu Sheng's wife—featured rectangular plaques broken in half to create eye slits. The Shizishan suit featured round jade plaques for eyes and a distinctive oval-shaped mouth formed from three plaques. In Liu Sheng's suit, artisans implied eyes by carving out a small half-round hole on the upper edge of two plaques on the face.

At times, suits produced in the same region show different features. For example, whereas the Shizishan suit featured round eyes and an oval mouth, the Huoshan suit, which was also produced in Chu during roughly



FIGURE 4.16 Jade face cover from the jade suit held in the Tianjin museum, Han dynasty. Courtesy of the Tianjin museum.

the same time period, featured no eyes or mouth. Since Huoshan was a silver-threaded suit that belonged to an aristocrat of the marquis rank, less articulation in the face may have been correlated with the relatively lower rank of the tomb occupant.

The jade suits also varied as to whether components such as ears, genitals, and nipples were included. The Shizishan suit had round plaque nipples, but no other bodily features. The Zhongshan suits—Liu Sheng’s from Mancheng and the Dingxian suit—were the only suits with expressed genitals. Dou Wan’s suit from Mancheng did not include genitals, but it did include ears, which were not found on her husband’s suit. The only other suit with ears is the Tianjin Museum suit, which was recovered by the museum from abroad and lacks provenance.¹¹⁹

Some differences in the suits might be attributed to different artistic solutions to the problem of how to connect the various suit elements. The Dingxian suit, for example, features two large triangles on each shoulder. This represents the artisans’ inelegant attempt to smooth out the connection

between the bodice and the arms.¹²⁰ The artisans similarly experimented with a different approach to the suit's head cover, making it rounded, resembling a ball.

Understanding Differences in Manufacture and Form

How do we understand the different manufacturing techniques that we observe in the suits? How do we explain the fact that some suits appear in partial form, whereas others appear in full? Wu Hung has previously proposed that jade suits were manufactured differently to suit patrons who desired to represent the transformation of the corpse into a “jade body” in different ways. In Wu’s view, partial suits—where the deceased wore only a jade mask, jade gloves, and jade booties—were utilized when patrons desired to represent a jade body as being covered with fabric clothing. In these cases, their head, hands, and feet were covered with jade to enact—a “metonymic representation of a jade figure, in which the parts stand for the whole.”¹²¹

A second type of jade suit utilized by some patrons, he proposes, utilized jade to represent both clothing and the body. In these cases, the techniques used to link the plaques together differed between the pieces representing the body and those representing clothing. In the Nanyue suit, for example, only the head cover, the gloves, and the shoes were manufactured from plaques that were sewn together. The bodice and the pants of the suit, in contrast, were created with plaques that were tied together with thick ribbons and attached to a fabric backing.¹²² Wu interprets the different manufacturing technique applied to the clothing sections of the suit—the bodice and the pants—as evidence that the artisans wanted to distinguish the jade “clothing” from the jade feet, hands, and face.

Finally, a third type of suit, he argues, represented a jade body without clothing. All plaques were sewn together, and the suit featured elements like nipples and genitals that indicated that the entire suit represented a naked body. Liu Sheng’s suit from Mancheng tomb 1 is an example of this type of suit.¹²³

Wu Hung is of course right that Han elites utilized different types of jade coverings. Nonetheless, the idea that some suits represented clothing while others did not, based on the method used to link the plaques together, remains difficult to understand. Instead, I suggest that the observed differences were due to contingencies faced by artisans after the death of a royal

family member, regional systems of rank, differing degrees of wealth, and varying modes of local expression.

As to different methods of linking the plaques together, Wu has proposed that jade plaques were tied together and glued to a fabric backing (rather than punctured and sewn) for the purpose of distinguishing “jade clothing” from the “jade body.” While this proposition is plausible in the case of the Nanyue suit, Dou Wan’s suit from Mancheng problematizes this theory, because the ribboned plaques in this suit were found only in the bodice area.¹²⁴ If Wu’s theory is correct, this would mean that Dou Wan was buried with a “naked” lower half.

A more probable explanation for plaques being ribboned together and attached to a fabric backing is that artisans resorted to this method when they ran out of time after the sudden death of their patron. Since the hands, feet, and head were the most elaborate compositions, requiring the cutting of specially shaped plaques, these portions of the suits may have been created first. When time ran out, it would have been easiest for artisans to ribbon together and glue roughly cut rectangular plaques to form the chest and back sections. This suggestion is supported by the fact that the ribboned plaques are universally irregular in size, thicker, and more coarsely finished than the sewn-together jade plaques.¹²⁵

As for the partial suits, although it is plausible that they were meant to imply a jade body under clothing, it is unlikely that someone would choose a partial suit over a full suit if they had the choice. To the contrary, evidence from Xuzhou indicates that in the Chu region, the form of the suit reflected the rank of the individual. According to research by Tian Zhimei, individuals buried with only a face cover—whether a Zhou-style jade-embellished face cover (such as those found at Zifangshan 子房山, Yaojiansuo 藥檢所, and Kuishan 奎山 tomb 9) or a stitched mask (such as those found at Tianqi 天齊 tomb 1, Sushantou 蘇山頭 tomb 2, and Houloushan 後樓山 tomb 1)—all generally had ranks below that of marquis.¹²⁶ Full suits and partial suits were reserved for kings and marquises of the Liu family. Gold-threaded suits were reserved for kings and queens, while silver-threaded suits were used by marquises.¹²⁷ However, such a rank-based scheme can only be proposed for the kingdom of Chu, a wealthy kingdom with an advanced jade workshop. In other Western Han kingdoms, even a king could be buried with just a jade mask. For example, in the Jibei 濟北 kingdom, a king buried at the Shuangrushan 雙乳山 site was interred with only a jade mask.¹²⁸

Given this array of evidence, I deduce that jade suits, like rock-cut tombs, were individual expressions uniquely designed for the mortuary needs of elites in the Han. Although they signaled status, and likely membership in the Liu house, they also allowed for the showcasing of local craft. As with other genres of craft, innovations by royal workshops may have sparked counterinnovation by imperial workshops. For example, several partial suits and jade suit fragments have been discovered that were carved or painted. A partial suit consisting of a jade head cover and jade shoes from Tuolongshan 拖龍山 tomb 1, for example, was discovered with cloud designs executed in red.¹²⁹ Roughly three hundred of the six hundred plaques excavated from Hanshan 韩山 tomb 1, which were also believed to have comprised a partial suit, were also painted in polychrome.¹³⁰ Carved plaques with cloud and floral motifs inlaid in gold have also been discovered at the Xingtai 邢台 tomb in Hebei.¹³¹ Similar motifs have been found on glass plaques excavated from the Ganquanshan 甘泉山 tomb in Yangzhou 揚州 and in museums and private collections.¹³² According to the later source *Diverse Notes on the Western Capital* (*Xijing zaji* 西京雜記), Emperor Wu (reigned 141–87 BCE) was buried in a “flood dragon jade suit” (*jiaolong yuxia* 蛟龍玉匣) engraved with patterns of dragons, phoenix, turtle, and deer.¹³³ If this account is accurate, the emperor may have commissioned a suit with this new design to distinguish his burial from earlier burials of kings and marquises around the empire. Later on, other elites followed suit and experimented with even more ornamental designs.

CONCLUSION

Past studies of jade suits have characterized them as a development in a continuous tradition of utilizing jade in burials, from the Neolithic to the Han, for the purpose of achieving immortality. This chapter, utilizing a materials-based approach, has taken an alternate position, demonstrating that jade suits were not a natural development in the Chinese burial tradition, but rather a form that became popular in a specific historical context due to the circumstances of the early empire. Jade suits mattered to elites in the Han for a variety of reasons. Certainly, as others have pointed out, jade suits’ purported ability to protect the body against decay seemed to grant those encased in such suits a superhuman type of power, though many in the Han were skeptical of this claim. Jade suits also capitalized on the fact that the moral meanings associated with jade effectively diverted attention

away from the material's identity as a luxury material. Jade also embodied the ideals of the age—the virtuous ruler whose legitimacy was based on his talents rather than on his pedigree. Finally, the rarity and the technical difficulty involved in producing jade suits made them attractive to the imperial house, which at that time was struggling to create a sumptuary system that might make the empire's hierarchies seem more natural and that would not be easily abridged by the empire's wealthy elites. The jade suit worked well in this context because only the highest of elites had control over the labor and materials required to fabricate a suit.

In addition to exploring the meanings of the jade suit, this chapter has also highlighted the ways jade suits, in their design and craftsmanship, underscored the strength of local workshops. The suit produced by the king of Chu for his tomb at Shizishan, for example, is the finest-quality jade suit known to date, featuring fine white jade cut into very thin, finely polished plaques. It is likely that not all of the suits found in the kingdoms were made by the kings; some may have been imperial bequests fashioned in the capital. But, as we have seen in other genres, those suits that were made in the kingdoms seemed to inspire counterinnovation on the part of the imperial court. Such competition among kings and between the kings and the imperial house led to the manufacture of a range of suits with individualized forms and varying qualities of jade, again confirming that the presence of the kings enhanced rather than hindered artistic creativity across the Han empire as a whole.

Chapter Five

THE MURALS AT SHIYUAN AND THE KING OF LIANG

Of the kings who ruled during Emperor Jing's 景帝 (r. 157–141 BCE) reign, none had a closer relationship with the imperial house than Liu Wu 劉武, King Xiao 孝 of Liang 梁 (r. 168–144 BCE). Liu Wu was the second born of Emperor Wen's 文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE) four sons and the youngest son of Empress Dou 窯皇后. His father treated him well, first positioning him as king of Dai 代 (r. 178–177 BCE), then moving him to Huaiyang 淮陽 (r. 176–169 BCE) and finally to Liang, after Emperor Wen's favorite son—Liu Wu's younger brother, Liu Yi 劉揖 (r. 178–169 BCE)—died in a horse-riding accident in 169 BCE.¹

Liu Wu's closest relationship, however, was not with his father, Emperor Wen, but with his mother and his elder brother, Emperor Jing. Before Emperor Jing had designated his own heir apparent, he remarked to Liu Wu, "After my days are ended, I shall pass on the throne to you!"² Liu Wu is said not to have taken the emperor's words as a serious plan for the succession, but nonetheless held hopes throughout his lifetime that it might come true.

Liu Wu's greatest accomplishment came during the Seven Kingdoms Revolt, when he prevented the rebels from marching west to the capital. According to the *Shiji*, he captured as many prisoners and killed as many enemy soldiers as the imperial troops did.³ Following the court's victory over the rebels, Liu Wu enjoyed increasing favor with the court, then led by his brother, Emperor Jing. The court granted him the flags and pennants of the imperial house and an entourage of one thousand chariots and ten thousand

horsemen. With a freedom permitted only to emperors during the Han, he traveled widely on hunting expeditions with mounted attendants who preceded him crying, “Clear the way! Attention!”⁴

The king wanted for nothing in terms of material living. His mother, Empress Dowager Dou, showered him with gifts, and he constructed grand palaces and parks. Distinguished scholars, courtiers, and poets—men such as Yang Sheng 羊勝, Zou Yang 鄒陽, Mei Sheng 枚乘, and Sima Xiangru 司馬相如—flooded his court.⁵ According to the *Shiji*, the Liang kingdom’s “coffers [during Liu Wu’s reign] contained close to 100,000,000 in gold and cash, and more jewels and precious objects than the capital itself.”⁶

Liu Wu’s relationship with the imperial court eventually soured after Empress Dowager Dou’s scheme to have Liu Wu appointed as heir apparent failed. The king of Liang retaliated against Yuan Ang 袁盎 and ten other court ministers who had spoken against his appointment by hiring a crew of assassins to punish and kill them.⁷ Nonetheless, despite this serious fallout, the histories indicate that he remained the wealthiest and most powerful king in the empire until his death in 144 BCE. Again, we read in the *Shiji*, “While Liu Wu was still alive his wealth reached enormous sums that defied computation, and even after his death the coffers of Liang still contained over 400,000 catties of yellow gold, with other treasures to match.”⁸

For their funerary needs, Liu Wu and his queen constructed rock-cut tombs in Bao'an Mountain (Bao'anshan 保安山), part of the Mang-Dang 芒礪 range in Eastern Henan, roughly ninety kilometers (fifty-six miles) outside of the kingdom of Liang’s capital city at Suiyang 睢陽 (figure 5.1).⁹ The mountain range had a distinguished history. The Han founder, Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (r. 202–195 BCE), had previously passed through the Mang and Dang mountains as he led convicts to the capital to construct the First Emperor of Qin’s tomb. In the marshy area near the bottom of the mountains, he allegedly brandished his sword and slayed a snake that blocked their path, which would later be spoken of as a sign that he would defeat the First Emperor.¹⁰ Following this, Liu Bang (the personal name of Emperor Gaozu) allegedly hid in the cliffs and marshes between the Mang and Dang mountains a second time when the First Emperor declared there was an “emanation of a Son of Heaven” in the southeast and Liu Bang suspected he might be the source of the emanation.¹¹ When Emperor Gaozu’s son, Emperor Hui, came to power, he constructed a temple at the southern foot of Mang Mountain to commemorate his father’s humble roots. Eventually, more than fifty temples to the Han founder were constructed over many centuries at the site, starting in the Han and extending into Qing times.¹²

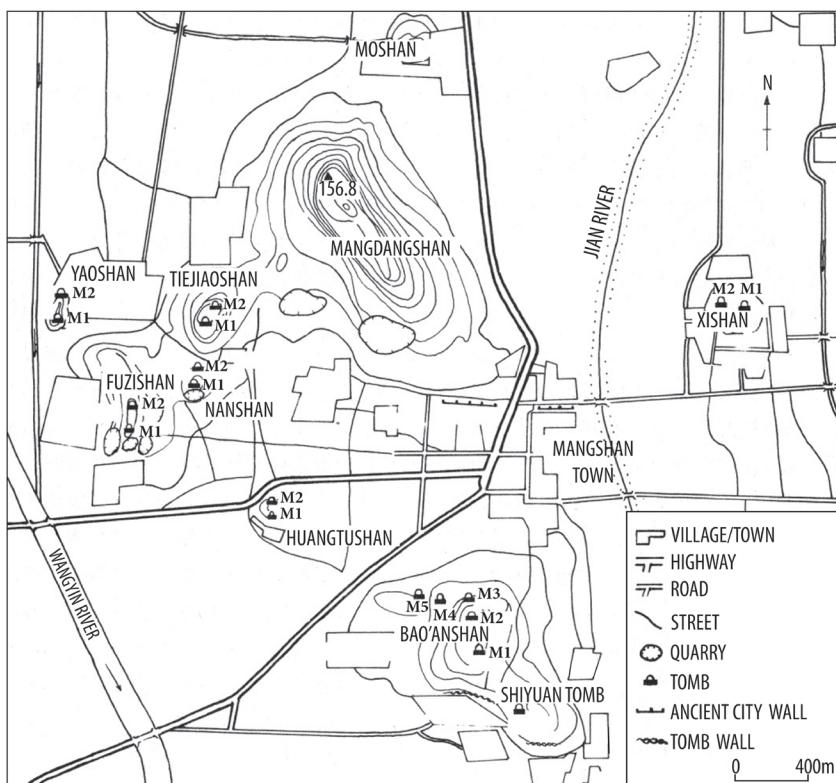


FIGURE 5.1 Map showing the location of the Shiyuan tomb relative to Bao'anshan tombs 1 and 2. Redrawn by Gary Wang and the author after Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo, *Yongcheng Xi Han Liangguo wangling yu qinyuan*, 11, fig. 3.

Archaeologists have excavated three rock-cut grotto tombs at Bao'anshan divided between two main peaks and all hollowed out of the mountain's natural limestone. Bao'anshan tombs 1 and 2, purportedly belonging to Liu Wu, King Xiao of Liang, and his queen, Queen Li 季, are positioned on the higher peak to the northwest. These tombs, in accordance with the high status of their occupants, are the largest rock-cut tombs excavated from the Liang kingdom to date (figures 5.2 and 2.3). The two sites measure 612 square meters (6587.51 sq. ft.) and 1,600 square meters (17,222 sq. ft.), respectively.¹³ Bao'anshan tomb 2 boasts a total of thirty rooms off the main corridor, including a washroom, a toilet, and an icebox.

In this chapter, however, we will focus on a smaller tomb in the mountain, the Shiyuan tomb 柿園, which was constructed at a lower peak to the

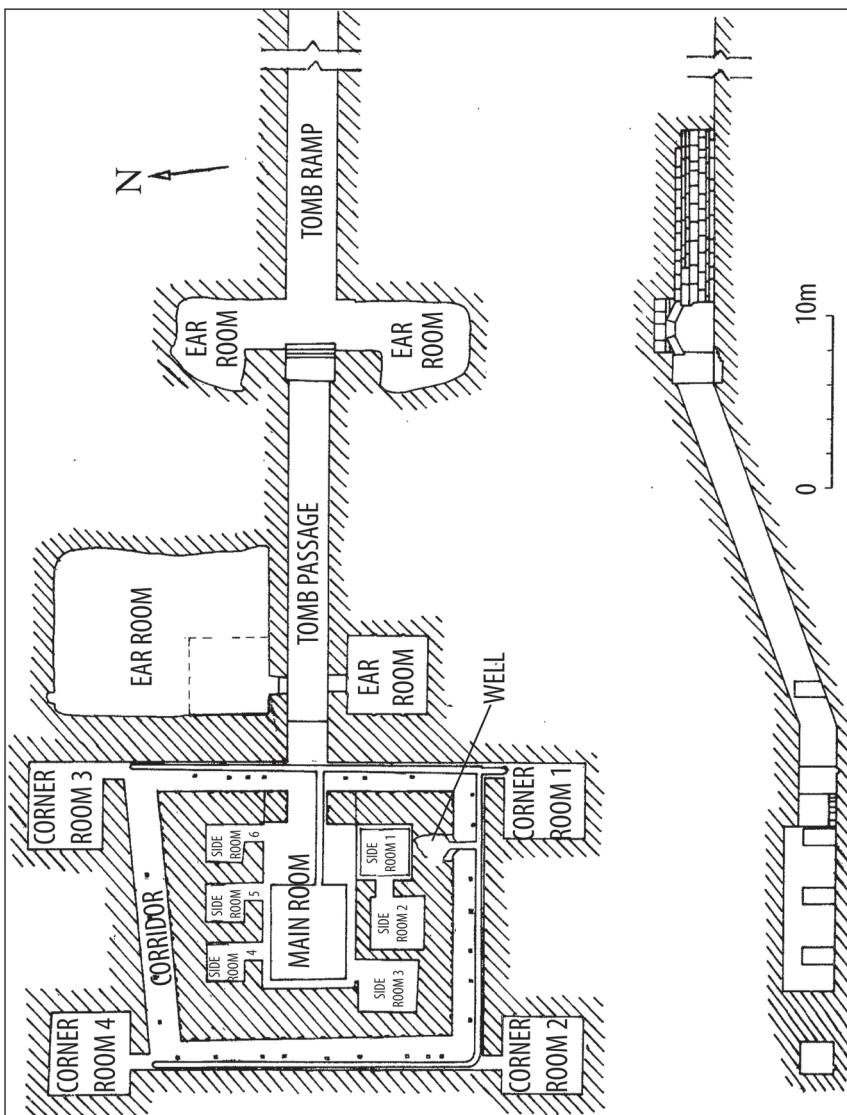


FIGURE 5.2 Plan and section of Bao'anshan tomb 1, Yongcheng, Henan province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Redrawn by the author and Gary Wang after Yan Genqi, *Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi*, 15, fig. 3.

southeast and featured elaborate murals in its main space.¹⁴ Measuring only 383.55 square meters (4,129 sq. ft.), this tomb may have been the earliest tomb constructed at Bao'anshan (figure 5.3).¹⁵ The original archaeological report posited that the Shiyuan tomb belonged either to King Xiao's son, King Gong 共, Liu Mai 劉賈 (r. 144–136 BCE), or to King Xiao's consort.¹⁶ Recently, however, Liu Rui has convincingly argued against these hypotheses and instead proposed that the site may have belonged to the first queen of King Xiao, who died before giving birth to an heir.¹⁷

The layout of the Shiyuan tomb, with a single room for both the coffin and offerings, indicates that the site should predate Bao'anshan 1 and 2, which both featured the later, bifurcated “sacrificial front hall”/ “back coffin room” layout. Also, all three sites seem to have been originally enclosed by the same wall at the base of the mountain, suggesting that the builders conceived of Bao'an mountain as one funerary park with three tombs positioned within it rather than as two separate parks for two kings as the report originally proposed.¹⁸ Finally, Shiyuan lacks a paired queen's tomb, which it should have had if it was a king's tomb since the other seven royal tombs in the Mangdang district all feature a pair of tombs for the king and queen, and King Gong's queen, Queen Chen 陳王后, is a known historical figure.¹⁹

In the scenario conceived by Liu Rui, he proposes that King Xiao of Liang may have originally positioned his tomb on the higher, northwestern peak of the Bao'an mountain and positioned his first queen's tomb (Shiyuan) on the lower, southeastern peak. Their tombs would have faced one another and would have been separated by a mere three hundred meters. When his first wife died unexpectedly, he may have sealed her tomb and then built another tomb (Bao'anshan tomb 2) for his second wife on the same peak as his own tomb, but slightly to the north in accordance with her status as a female. The position of the coffin chamber in the Bao'anshan tombs supports this proposal. In both Bao'anshan tomb 2 and Shiyuan, the coffin chamber was placed to the north of the principal tomb chamber, the direction typically associated with the female gender, whereas in Bao'anshan tomb 1, it was located to the south, in accordance with the occupant's male gender.²⁰

The three murals discovered at Shiyuan represent for scholars today a distinctive moment in the history of Chinese art. First, they are the earliest set of painted wall murals found in any tomb in early imperial China, preceding the next example by at least fifty-eight years, but likely many more.²¹ Aside from some cloud designs painted on the walls of the foreign king of

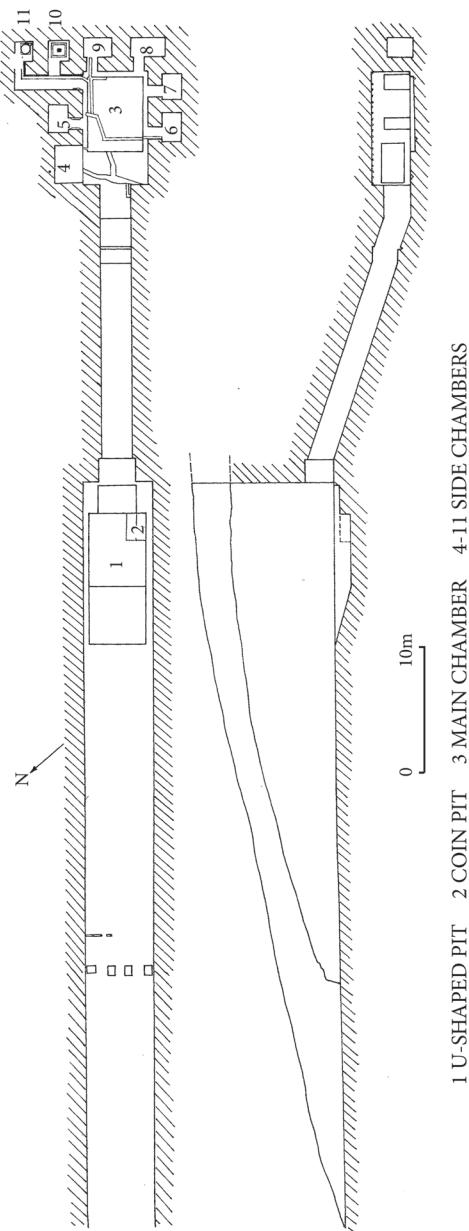


FIGURE 5.3 Plan and section of the Shiyuan tomb, Yongcheng, Henan province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Redrawn by Gary Wang and the author after Yan Genqi, Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi, 84, fig. 32.

Nanyue's 南越 tomb, they are the only set of murals found in a royal tomb in the Han empire, even though more than seventy-five tombs attributed to kings and queens of the Western Han (202 BCE–9 CE) have been excavated to date.²²

The three murals cover the first half of the tomb's main room (figure 5.4). Each features a red background and a black frame decorated with *bi* discs and ribbons. Of the three, the ceiling mural is the best preserved. It features four animals: a massive dragon, a bird, a tiger, and a fishlike animal caught in the horns extending from the dragon's chin (figures 5.5 and 5.6). He Xilin has argued with broad acceptance that these represent the four signifying animals of the cosmic directions—the Red Bird of the South, the Blue-Green Dragon of the East, the White Tiger of the West, and the Dark Warrior of the North.²³ According to Lillian Lan-ying Tseng, a fishlike creature appears instead of a turtle for the north because the iconography of the northern emblem had not yet stabilized in the early Western Han.²⁴

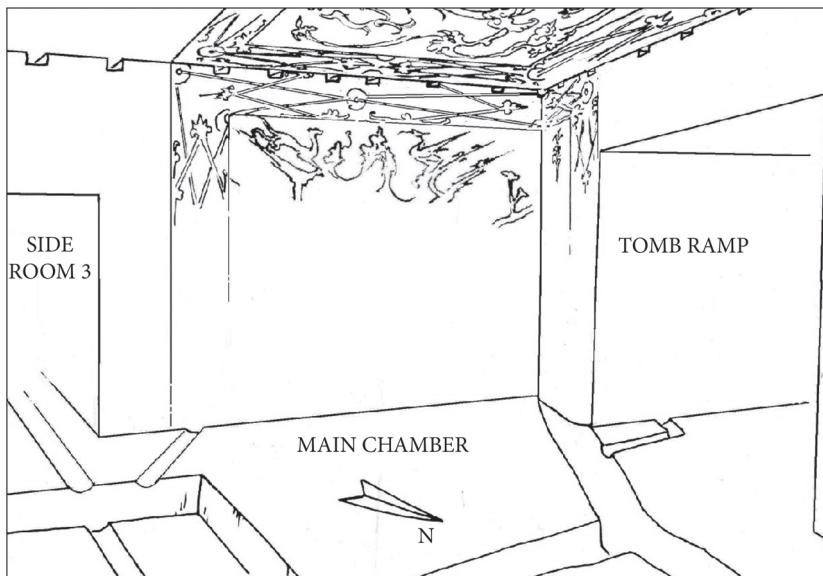


FIGURE 5.4 Layout of the murals in the main chamber of the Shiyuan tomb, Yongcheng, Henan province. Redrawn by Keven Bloomfield and the author after Zheng Yan, "Guanyu Muzang Bihua Qiyuan Wenti de Sikao—Yi Henan Yongcheng Shiyuan Han mu Wei Zhongxin," 63, fig. 9.



FIGURE 5.5 Ceiling mural from the main chamber of the Shiyuan tomb, Yongcheng, Henan province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Length 5.14 m (16.9 ft), width 3.27 m (10.7 ft). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 5.6 Line drawing of the ceiling mural from the Shiyuan tomb, Yongcheng, Henan province. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

Perpendicular to the ceiling painting, the second mural was applied to the western end of the main room's south wall and continues over a corner. It depicts a stylized mountain topped with a leopard and a bird that face each other in profile (figures 5.7 and 5.8). He Xilin argues that this mountain with its curvilinear valleys and angular and lightning-bolt-shaped peaks represents either Mt. Kunlun 崑崙 of the far west or an immortal mountain in the eastern sea such as Penglai 蓬萊, Fangzhang 方丈, or Yingzhou瀛洲; the other animals represent immortal creatures.²⁵ From the right side of the mountain, the lone plant that appears to sprout independently is the *lingzhi* 灵芝 plant, a plant of immortality.²⁶ Finally, to the right of the interior wall of the doorway, archaeologists discovered a rectangular section of badly damaged painted black framing with the same ribboned *bi*-disc design that appears in the other two murals (figure 5.9).

The fine quality of the Shiyuan murals sets them apart from other murals produced for officials (nonroyals) later during the Western Han.²⁷ Not only were the figures executed with precision, but they show as well an innovative use of white paint as accent, which enlivens the outline-and-color figures.

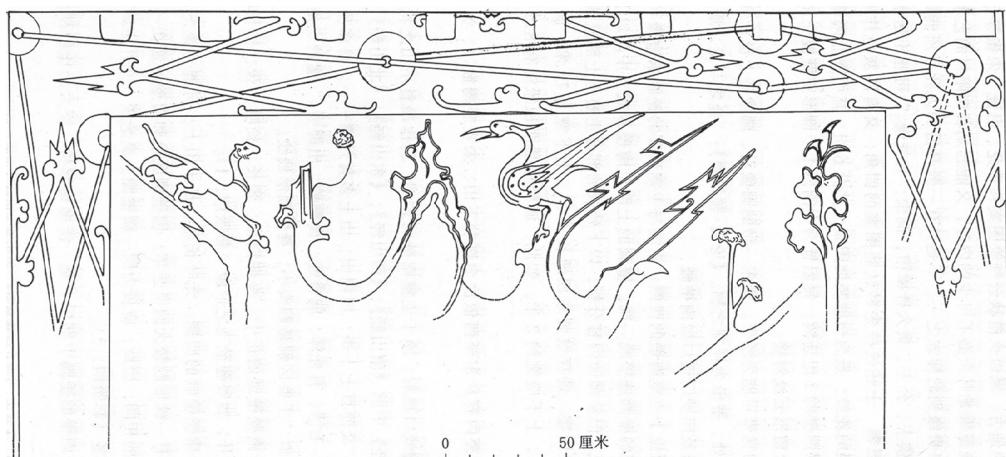


FIGURE 5.7 Line drawing of the mural positioned over the southern and western walls of the main chamber of the Shiyuan tomb, Yongcheng, Henan province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Approximate original size: length 4.24 m (13.9 ft.), width 2 m (6.6 ft). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 5.8 Detail of the mural positioned over the southern wall of the main chamber of the Shiyuan tomb, Yongcheng, Henan province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

The murals were painted using a unique set of pigment blends. For white, the artists used mica, imparting a shimmery, pearlescent finish to the painting. For black, they made the unusual choice of mixing malachite green with cinnabar red, yielding chromatic black, a shade rarely used in Chinese painting, which imparted far more subtlety than flat charcoal black and allowed the workers to create carefully metered warm and cool grays.²⁸ In the dragon figure, these various grays give the impression of an umbralike lightening and darkening of the dragon's body.

This chapter will address several issues raised by the murals' placement in the tomb and their unique iconography. Against prior studies that argued that the murals were used for primarily religious purposes, this chapter will argue that in the case of Shiyuan, the artisans utilized the murals to organize the space of the tomb and to suggest the deceased's presence, status, and affiliations. Motifs of ascension, featured in the murals, are not read as being used for direct magical efficacy, but rather to evoke the shared ideals, aspirations, and hopes of the elite class. This mode of ornamentation resulted from the experimentation that occurred in royal tombs after the popularization

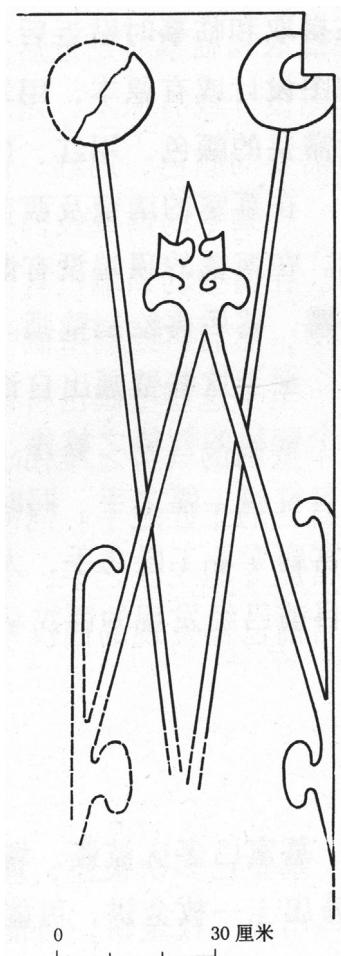


FIGURE 5.9 Line drawing of the mural positioned on the right side of the western wall of the main chamber of the Shiyuan tomb, Yongcheng, Henan province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Length 1.64 m (5.4 ft), width 50 cm (19.7 in). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

of rock-cut tombs in the early Western Han, discussed in greater detail in chapter 2. Ultimately, however, despite the fine quality of the Shiyuan murals, royal patrons generally preferred other modes of ornamenting their rock-cut tombs, making the Shiyuan murals somewhat unique in the history of early Chinese funerary art.

ICONOGRAPHICAL APPROACHES TO THE MURALS

Since the murals' discovery in 2001, discussions have centered on their iconography and religious function. He Xilin, one of the first to analyze the Shiyuan murals, described them as featuring ascension to immortality as their central theme; since then, the majority of scholars have agreed with his preliminary assessment. Despite the general consensus on the murals' subject, there has been considerable disagreement on their function within the tomb space. In the following section, I will begin by examining current debates concerning the role of the Shiyuan murals in the tomb. I will then present my own argument: namely, the murals served an ornamental purpose in the tomb, communicating the affiliations, hopes, and status of the deceased and, also, defining the tomb space.

He Xilin, in his 2001 book on painting in ancient tombs, characterized the murals as bearing an strong “ornamental style” (*zhuangshi zuofeng* 裝飾作風). He likened them to the famous red-lacquer coffin from Mawangdui 馬王堆 tomb 1, belonging to Lady Dai 女侯夫人, who passed away not long after 168 BCE (figures 5.10 and 5.11).²⁹ Following the publication of He's work, Zheng Yan countered with a strong critique, arguing “these mural paintings were emphatically not a type of ornament produced for aesthetic purposes, but were a type of ‘Daoist implement’ having a religious function.”³⁰ Zheng contended that the murals were not art, but tools with a direct religious purpose: they were placed in the tomb to transform the tomb's main chamber into an immortal realm so that spirits might be enticed to descend into the space.³¹ Zheng argues that this was an important function of murals in the Han, citing a passage in the *Shiji* concerning Han Emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 141–87 BCE). Emperor Wu, following the advice of Shao Weng 少翁, a “master of techniques” (*fangshi* 方士), ordered that his robes, carriages, and a terrace room in his Palace of Sweet Springs be adorned with images of Heaven, Earth, Taiyi, and the many spirits, because, according to Shao Weng, “Unless your palaces and robes are patterned after the shapes of the spirits, they will not consent to come to you.”³²

After Zheng, Lillian Lan-ying Tseng published another interpretation of the ceiling mural a few years later in her discussion of celestial iconography in Han tombs. Tseng argued that the murals did not literally bring spirits into the tomb; rather, they alluded to “the possibility of ascending from Earth to Heaven at the peak of a mountain as long as the deceased secured the guidance of the cardinal emblems that belong to the celestial field.”³³ Tseng



FIGURE 5.10 Red lacquer coffin with painted designs from the set of nested coffins buried in Mawangdui tomb 1, Changsha, Hunan province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Height 89 cm (2.9 ft), length 230 cm (7.5 ft), width 93 cm (3.1 ft). Courtesy of the Hunan Museum.

agreed with Zheng that the murals principally served a religious function; however, she interpreted them as a map for heavenly ascension rather than a tool for attracting spirits.

While I agree with Tseng that ascension appears to be the murals' principal theme, I argue that the murals did more than express their subject—the



FIGURE 5.11 Line drawing of the left face of the red lacquer coffin from Mawangdui tomb 1, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Hunan Museum.

wish that the deceased attain immortality. Instead, agreeing more strongly with He Xilin's original proposal, I argue that the murals principally functioned as ornamental works that powerfully communicated the presence, status, and taste of the deceased within the tomb space. I will advance this argument in two steps: first by analyzing why the Shiyuan murals ought to be classified as ornament, and then by considering how this categorization aids us in understanding the function of the murals within the tomb space.

ORNAMENT AND THE SHIYUAN MURALS

In a recent work, Jonathan Hay laid out a working definition of ornament, arguing that ornament consists of three essential components: a recognizable central motif; a "rhythm," or a way of moving the eye across the surface; and a frame, or "limit," surrounding the design.³⁴ All three of these elements can be observed in the ceiling and side murals of the Shiyuan tomb. In the ceiling mural, for example, the massive dragon serves as the composition's central image, stretching nearly five meters across the ceiling. Surrounding him are cloud scrolls and creatures organized in such a way that they correspond to a general rhythmic pattern that moves the eye around the perimeter. The animals move in opposite directions: the tiger and the fish move clockwise, whereas the bird and the dragon move counterclockwise against them. The entire composition is limited by a frame, which itself is decorated with a pattern that is nearly as free-flowing and organic as the motifs within the painting itself. The wall mural, although far more damaged, displays the same emphasis on schematized, rhythmic display.

Some may argue that the animals in the Shiyuan murals are depicted too realistically to qualify as ornament. However, as Martin Powers has argued, even a high level of naturalistic detail in principal motifs is not necessarily incongruent with ornamental design, if such motifs are presented in a rhythmical way, so as to appear as part of a pattern.³⁵ Concerning the red coffin from Mawangdui tomb 3, Powers states:

The bodies of all the animals represented on the coffin are organized like any cloud design, as flowing extensions in space which cross over, in front of, or behind other such extensions. What we actually see are no more than extensions and cusps, just as with any cloud design, even if those cusps have been exquisitely manipulated so as to "compare to" or "call to mind" the body parts of real animals.³⁶

According to Powers, then, although the Mawangdui coffins feature animal figures with a considerable degree of naturalistic detail, the abstracting of their form to make them flow with other motifs marks them as ornament. Similar to the coffin paintings from Mawangdui, the Shiyuan ceiling painting also utilizes patternized figures. In that painting, the animals' bodies are thin and sinuous, like schematized cloud scrolls, and their appendages often terminate in foliate and cloud shapes. The central dragon's legs culminate in puffy, cloudlike feet, and his tail ends in a flowering protuberance similar in shape to the lotus buds held in the tiger's mouth. With the exception of the tiger, who climbs a lightning-bolt-shaped peak, the other animals would float freely in the ether if not tethered to the forward movement of the fierce dragon. Also similar to Mawangdui is the presence of a border that frames the work, which in the case of the Shiyuan mural takes the form of intersecting ribbons and *bi* discs.

What role does ornament play on the surfaces on which it appears? According to the architectural historian Kent Bloomer, ornament is not meaningless but functions in three ways. First, ornament expresses the function of the object or wall that it covers. It does so based not only on its subject or theme but also on its specific location on the “surfacescape” in which it is embedded.³⁷ (The term “surfacescape” derives from Hay, who uses it to emphasize the idea that the positions that motifs assume on surfaces are not neutral.)³⁸ A column’s function, therefore, as supporting the weight of a roof might be expressed through an efflorescent leafed capital erupting from the column’s crown.³⁹ A punch bowl’s function as a container, likewise, is expressed in a work by Gottfried Semper by leaving the bowl’s fundamental parts (such as the bowl’s lower belly, moldings, and handles) unadorned while heavily embellishing the more decorative portions (the stand, the bowl’s upper half, and lid) with fantastic images.⁴⁰ In each case, the way that ornament expresses meaning is linked to its spatial position on the surface of an object or on an architectural surface.

A second way that ornament communicates, according to Bloomer, is that it broadly expresses the special interests and tastes of the “world at large.” Victorians, for example, preferred floral designs, because they “wanted their objects and buildings to recall the nourishing cycles and products of botanical nature seemingly suppressed in the midst of the grime and the labor of industrialization.”⁴¹ Groups (or social classes) utilize patterns that relate to their tastes and values, and when individuals utilize

specific ornaments, they communicate their affiliation with those groups and social classes.

Finally, Bloomer points out that ornament *combines* expressions of utility with expressions drawn from the world at large in a limited and transitional space. Thus, ornament requires abstracting, fragmentating, and recombin-ing forms in a rhythmic manner, thereby giving “birth to an entire flora and fauna of hybrids that are subject to the laws of a world distinctly not our own.”⁴² The fantastic transformation that often occurs in ornament is neces-sitated by changes that must be made to motifs to situate them in a rhythmic pattern on an object’s surface.

Bloomer’s articulation of the three functions of ornament—expressing the function of an object or space, signifying group identity, and generating fantastic forms—provides a lens through which we can understand the role of the Shiyuan tomb murals. We will begin with the second of Bloomer’s functions, examining the subject of the Shiyuan murals to understand how they expressed the special interests of southern Chinese elites. Then we will consider how the murals expressed the function of the architectural space in which they were situated.

DEPICTING ASCENSION

The first level on which we will analyze the Shiyuan murals is that of theme, identifying specifically how the motifs signaled group identity. As noted earlier, the main theme of the murals was the idea of ascension, a theme that reflects the specific concerns and obsessions of the elite community in southern China at the time. We know from historical sources that the king of Liang, who likely ordered construction of the tomb, was steeped in southern elite culture, a culture whose poems and texts often carry notions about literally “journeying far away” (*yuanyou* 遠遊) from the troubles of the world.⁴³

Yet, as Michael Puett’s research has shown, the type of ascension dis-cussed across early Han texts was not the same. In fact, Puett argues that there were “competing cosmologies” concerning ascension/transcendance in the Western Han empire. Of these, the ideas of the imperial court and those of elites in southern China (represented by texts such as the *Shiwen* 十問 [Ten questions] and “*Yuanyou*”) were diametrically opposed.⁴⁴ The court preferred the methods promoted by the masters of techniques

(*fangshi*), which argued for the emperor's gaining control over the spirits so that he could impose his will on the cosmos and achieve full divinization and bodily ascension. In contrast, southern texts such as the *Shiwen* from Chu 楚 rejected such attempts to gain control over natural phenomena and instead advocated for concentrating one's spirit in order to eventually gain liberation from form (nobodyly transcendence).⁴⁵ These texts also advocated less forceful modes of rulership.

Certain facts suggest that the king of Liang himself may have imbibed the notions and carried out practices central to ascension texts excavated from southern China, including the idea of political rulership based on nonaction. Such a scenario is supported by a prose poem titled “Rhapsody of Sir Vacuous” (*Zixu fu* 子虛賦) that Sima Xiangru (179–118 BCE) presented to the king of Liang around 150 BCE. In this piece, Sima Xiangru stages a fictive debate between an envoy from the former state of Chu, Sir Vacuous 子虛, and Master Improbable 烏有先生, an envoy of the state of Qi 齊, about the comparative merits of each state's territory. The debate represents a sort of provincial competition in which Chu, a stand-in for Liang, proves to be the more capable. (Part of the former Warring States [480–221 BCE] territory of Chu had become Liang.)

The superiority of the Chu region, the Chu envoy argues, can be connected not only with the sumptuousness of the land but also with the ruler's approach to kingship. The text describes the king of Qi as hunting in a manner similar to embarking on war with a massive infantry army: he goes out to hunt with “thousands” of chariots and horsemen; his “serried troops fill the marshes”; his “snares and nets overspread the hills.”⁴⁶ For the king of Qi, the goal of the hunt is to use manpower to overwhelm the natural environment.

The king of Chu, in contrast, takes a different approach. He departs from his warriors on the ground, and riding in a jade chariot driven by Xian'e 嫦娥, charioteer of the moon, and accompanied only by Master Yang 陽子 (also referred to as Bo Le 伯樂, an expert on horses), he proceeds “with a measured pace, yet never slack” to shoot at beasts in his Yunmeng park. In their movements, the king and his companions align with the natural universe:

Swift and sudden, fleet and fast,
They move like thunder, arrive like a gale,
Course like stars, strike like lightning.⁴⁷

The result of his hunt is a catch that “overspreads the grass, [and] covers the ground.”⁴⁸ After he is satisfied with his catch, he:

Slows his pace to a dawdle and dally,
 Roam and ramble, free and easy,
 Scanning the shady groves;
 He observes the violent ardor of the bold warriors,
 And the fearful fright of the fierce beasts.
 He intercepts the exhausted, seizes the spent,
 And intently watches the changing aspects of all the creatures.⁴⁹

The King of Chu concludes the hunt by stepping back, concentrating his attention and watching. The text implies that his excellence in hunting derives from his ability to align with the universe and understand things, rather than attempting to control them. The spirits respond to and reward this rulership style. After he engages in this act of inward inspection, maidens and goddesslike consorts descend from the sky and go hunting with the king. Together they traverse the king’s park, leisurely shooting rare and marvelous birds and fishing.

The end of the poem draws an explicit contrast between the culture of Chu and that of Qi. In Chu, in a final ceremony, the king commands his huntsmen to rest and ascends his terrace. The text describes him in the following manner:

Calm, he does not act;
 Tranquil, he controls the self.
 With the blended sauce prepared,
 They serve the feast.
 He [the king of Chu] is unlike Your Highness [the king of Qi]
 Who gallops and races all day long,
 Never descending from Your chariot.⁵⁰

Whereas the king of Qi expends himself in constant motion, trying to control the world, the king of Chu frequently stops and seeks tranquility and pursues nonaction. As a result, the king is able to have moments in which he escapes this world and roams “free and easy,” experiencing sites and sensations not afforded to common men.⁵¹ He also is able to experience the spontaneous descent of goddesses.

The connection of the Shiyuan murals with this culture can be observed in the murals' iconography, which might be distinguished from other, late Western Han murals that directly depicted the ascension of the deceased. In contrast to those murals, which often featured the deceased riding on the back of a dragon, in the Shiyuan murals, no humans appear at all; instead, a soaring dragon occupies a central position in the ceiling composition.

Dragons were often mentioned in ascension texts and often stood as metaphors for liberation from one's form (*xingjie* 形解). In the *Shiwen* text, for example, we learn that when an adept of this sort of technique has made his or her spirit long-lasting and achieved nonbodily transcendence, he or she is able to ascend into the skies like a dragon:

He who clarifies the great Way transcends the clouds as he travels. From the Piled Blue-gem⁵² above, like water flowing he can traverse far. Like a dragon ascending, he can reach towering heights quickly, untiring in strength.

明大道者，其行陵雲，上自群瑤，水流能遠，龍登能高，疾不力倦。⁵³

The Shiyuan mural like the *Shiwen* text displays the dragon as the creature that can soar unfettered. In fact, the positioning of the other animals indicates that they were conceived of as props created to establish the dragon's supremacy. The tiger, for example, runs toward the central peak of the mountain with his head raised in the air and an immortal plant in his mouth, but remains grounded. The bird and the aquatic creature fly, but only because they have attached themselves to the dragon.

In the text and the murals, however, the dragon is never depicted as carrying the adept, but serves only as a metaphor for the adept's liberation from his or her bodily form. This, I propose, can explain why the murals do not show an image of the deceased on the back of a dragon as often appeared in murals of the late Western Han. Specifically, it is related to the type of nonbodily ascension that many southern Chu elites hoped to achieve.

This literary and cultural highlighting of two approaches to ascension (or to transcendence) suggests why representations of ascension in the Shiyuan tomb ought to be read differently than those representations produced in the capital region. Based on theme and iconography, the Shiyuan murals link the deceased with the identifying markers of the southern elite culture and indicate that the deceased was part of a group of elites who were interested in nonbodily ascension and models of rulership that signaled nonaction,

something that contrasted with the centralizing and officious modes of rulership common in the imperial capital.

By interpreting the tomb this way, I am not necessarily suggesting that the queen who Liu Rui has proposed occupied the tomb was literate, well versed in ascension texts, or able to rule through nonaction. Instead, I am proposing that such ideas formed a widespread popular cultural interest among elites, who assumed aesthetic stances and enjoyments and harbored fantasies of escaping from this world to far-off places of transcendent boundlessness. By utilizing these themes on the walls of the tomb, therefore, the royal patron of the tomb communicated royal participation in this group and alignment with the beliefs and aspirations that they espoused.

On this basis, there is no reason to believe that the mural served as a religious tool for literally bringing spirits into the tomb, as Zheng Yan has proposed, which would be more in line with *fangshi* practices. Nor did the mural necessarily function as a map. To the contrary, the mural expressed a general desire to achieve transcendence, a goal shared by many elites in southern China, aligning the deceased with the identifying markers of the elite culture of the south, with its particular styles and iconographies.

READING THE MURALS IN THE TOMB SPACE

As mentioned previously, painted murals played multiple roles in the space of the Shiyuan tomb. They not only expressed the personality and interests of the deceased—namely, an interest in transcendence—but were also purposefully designed to partition the main space of the tomb and to express the presence of the deceased in that space. This section presents an argument for that assertion.

Zheng Yan once pointed out that the positioning of the murals within the Shiyuan tomb is odd. The three murals were not centered in the main room but grouped together on the room's western end. The placement of the side mural has received the most scrutiny. The mural begins on the south wall—but the last segment of the painting extends awkwardly around a corner and onto part of the west wall, near the doorway. The third mural—although only a fragment—appears to have been applied to the wall on the other side of the doorway so that both paintings frame it.

To have positioned the side-wall mural so as to span a corner was—in Zheng Yan’s view—inexcusable as a plan and indicates that the painters misjudged the size of the painting on the tomb walls. He hypothesizes—given the similarity between the Shiyuan murals and the red coffin from Mawangdui—that the blunder resulted from a lack of experience in executing mural designs. It might be that the patrons of Shiyuan hired coffin painters, who were not accustomed to painting on walls, to execute the murals. They directly transferred a coffin design to the walls (or at very least borrowed designs from coffin sketches).⁵⁴

Zheng’s theory makes a certain degree of sense, but we should wonder why, if the murals were painted by bungling coffin painters, would not all three murals be misaligned. However, the ceiling mural, which should have been the most difficult to paint in its overhead position, is precisely laid out so that the central dragon is centered in the middle of the space. Also, as mentioned previously, the pictorial elements were executed with precision; the figures were carefully scaled; the artisans used black and white outlines carefully to separate the motifs from the background; and the pigments were carefully metered so as to convey the transformative potential of the dragon. All this speaks to competence. The argument here is that the positioning of the paintings can be explained by two factors: first, a desire to divide the room into two spaces, a burial space and an offering space; and second, a desire to convey something strong, and perhaps even shockingly dominant, about the presence of the deceased.

In Huang Shaofen’s study of the evolution of tomb spaces over time, she argues that the emergence of an independent offering space within the tomb constituted the last of three major transitions between the late Warring States period and the Han. Whereas previously the coffin was often placed in the middle of the tomb, she argues that tombs were gradually lengthened so that there was a “sacrificial front hall” (*jisi qiantang* 祭祀前堂) and a “back coffin room” (*hou guanshi* 後館室).⁵⁵ A good example of a tomb with this arrangement is Mancheng tomb 1, which had a front room containing two silk tents under a wooden structure and a separate back burial hall fashioned from stone.⁵⁶

In the kingdom of Liang, the Shiyuan tomb was likely the earliest rock-cut tomb to have ever been built. At that time, patrons had not yet begun to request two separate rooms for burial and offerings as they would in later tombs such as Bao’anshan tombs 1 and 2, the two later rock-cut tombs

created in the same mountain as Shiyuan. At Shiyuan, the architects divided the main tomb space into two halves using murals, as well as a wooden platform placed on the eastern end of the room (figure 5.12). The murals, taken together, divide the room into two sections, a western section with the murals and an eastern section without murals (and with the wooden platform).

The section with the murals functioned as the coffin room. The section without murals functioned as the offering room; the offering space is signaled with the wooden platform in the floor, which begins at the point where the ceiling mural ends.⁵⁷ Without a definitive break between spaces, the ceiling mural at Shiyuan provided a visual cue to those entering the main space of the tomb that they were standing in the coffin niche. In other words, as the visitor entered, the overhead and side murals were designed to signal the immediate presence of the deceased in that space.

The ceiling and side murals conveyed the deceased's presence differently, with distinct goals in mind. The ceiling mural is unique in that, although it



FIGURE 5.12 Excavation photograph of the main chamber of the Shiyuan tomb showing the hole in the floor where archaeologists believe a wooden platform was originally positioned. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

features the four cardinal emblems, the dragon is particularly emphasized. One reason for the emphasis on the dragon, as I have argued earlier based on the *Shiwen* text, is that ascension texts seem particularly centered on the image of the dragon and its transcendental power. However, the large dragon also served another function: it conveyed the authoritative aspect of the tomb occupant.

In early Western Han texts, dragons are often said to have affected or even interacted with various dynastic rulers, thereby signaling their role as omens of heaven's approval. The founder of the Han, Emperor Gaozu, for example, was purportedly conceived after a dragon lay over his mother.⁵⁸ He also had a "dragon forehead," and dragons and cloudy emanations often hovered above him at different points in his life, marking his status as emperor.⁵⁹ These heavenly omens were probably used to legitimize the family's authority, since the Liu family lacked the ancient royal pedigree possessed by the First Emperor of Qin. Dragons as signs of heavenly approval would continue to appear during Emperor Wen's reign, an emperor who, as discussed in chapter 2, also needed to shore up his legitimacy.⁶⁰

Although dragon imagery was not limited to emperors and kings in the Han (and dragons could serve a variety of purposes), this mural's dragon, because of its size, fierce expression, and placement in the center of the room, communicated the deceased's authoritative presence in a way that was meant to inspire awe. If we compare the dragon imagery at Shiyuan, for example, with the dragons that appear on the sides of the red Mawangdui coffin, we observe many differences. The Mawangdui dragons on the coffin are depicted as a pair, and they move toward a central peak that is the focus of the composition. The Shiyuan dragon, in contrast, stretches across the length of the ceiling with its mouth open, using its horns to pull in a small fishlike creature. It appears dangerous, even fierce, intimidating the viewer standing beneath. The use of dragon imagery in the Liang queen's tomb may have been intended to highlight the queen's membership in the ruling house.

If the ceiling mural conveyed the connection of the deceased with the ruling house through the centrally placed dragon figure, what purpose did the oddly positioned side mural serve? One clue comes from the position of the coffin niche within the whole space. If the head of the deceased was oriented to the east in the coffin niche, as is common in Chinese burials,

then the mural painting positioned across the south and western walls would have been in the direct, diagonal sight line of the corpse. The mural was not necessarily positioned out of a belief that the deceased could physically see it. Rather, it enabled the living to act *as if* the spirit of the deceased were nearby and could view the mural.

Acting as if the deceased were present was an important aspect of burial ritual in early China. In funerals, participants worked through their grief by ritually caring for the deceased in the context of the tomb. In doing so, they transitioned from concentrating on their loss to developing filial dispositions toward the deceased as an ancestor.⁶¹ Toward that end, they presented an array of objects in the tomb that signified the care of the living as well as the deceased's social standing and personality. The Shiyuan murals, therefore, powerfully conveyed the presence of the deceased within the tomb's space and the wishes of the living toward the deceased without installing a portrait of the deceased on the tomb walls.

The north chamber of Mawangdui tomb 1 was designed for a very similar purpose. Mawangdui tomb 1 was a vertical pit chamber tomb with four compartments, fashioned from wood, located to the north, south, east, and west of the main coffin chamber.⁶² All but the northern chamber were storage compartments, containing figurines, lacquer and pottery vessels, food, clothing, medicine, instruments, and fake money. The northern chamber, in contrast, replicated an actual room, with silk wallpaper and bamboo flooring. At the western end of the room, an empty seat was positioned in front of a screen (figure 5.13). Offerings of wine and meat on sticks were placed on a low table in front of the seat, followed by figurines of musicians and servants. The screen, with a stylized painting of a suspended jade *bi* disc on one side and a dragon on the other, conveyed the deceased's presence and high status.⁶³ As at Shiyuan, the chamber enabled the living to create a scene prepared as if the deceased's physical presence was invoked and provided for in the space of the tomb.

At Shiyuan, this sort of replica chamber was enlarged. The murals near the coffin performed a function like that of the screen, armrest, and robes in the northern chamber at Mawangdui, conveying the deceased's presence. As at Mawangdui, offerings were laid out on a wooden platform near the burial chamber. Altogether, the room was presented in a way *as if* the living were caring for the deceased through their offerings—one last time.⁶⁴



FIGURE 5.13 Excavation photograph of the western end of the northern compartment of Mawangdui tomb 1, Changsha, Hunan province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Hunan Museum.

MURALS IN ROYAL TOMBS AFTER SHIYUAN

If the Shiyuan mural enhanced the ritual of burial by conveying the presence and particular identity of the deceased in the tomb space, then why do we not observe murals in other royal tombs from the era? Moreover, why would Liu Wu include such a mural in the tomb attributed to his first wife, and not in his own? Subsequent to Shiyuan, no known royal tomb of the Han empire was decorated with wall murals, even though more than seventy-five tombs have been discovered. Some decorative black and red scrolling-cloud designs have been discovered on the doors, walls, and ceiling of the front chamber of the tomb of the king of Nanyue (Zhao Mo 趙眜/ Zhao Hu 趙胡; r. 137–122 BCE) in Guangzhou (figure 5.14a, b); however, these were produced for a foreign king.⁶⁵ The closest that later tombs came to mural painting is the application of lacquer and red cinnabar to the walls (or simply cinnabar), which was done at Beidongshan 北洞山, Tuolanshan 駄籃山, Huangtushan 黃土山, Mancheng 滿城 tomb 1, and other sites.⁶⁶

One reason that tomb murals may have ceased after Shiyuan (and why neither King Xiao nor his queen had murals in their tombs) might be related to the evolution of tomb space during the Western Han. As sacrificial space was separated from burial space architecturally, it was no longer necessary to use murals for this purpose. Both Bao'anshan tombs 1 and 2 feature coffin rooms that are separate from the main sacrificial space.⁶⁷ This format became popular across regions in rock-cut tombs of the mid-Western Han and after.

Another reason that murals may not have been preferred in royal tombs constructed after the Shiyuan tomb may lie in the increasing popularity of so-called *huangchang ticou* 黃腸題湊 tombs, or tombs with walls constructed from roughly stacked timber, among kings of the middle to late Western Han.⁶⁸ The wood material itself would not have prohibited the application of paint. Instead, as Zheng Yan has argued, the layout of these spaces was not suitable for murals, and patrons seemingly did not want to paint over the expensive cypress, which they often left unfinished.⁶⁹

Finally, the lack of murals in tombs may be related to a preference for portable works for ornamenting spaces during the Western Han. The fact that few royal tombs have been discovered with murals does not mean that such tombs were not decorated with paintings at all. Instead, both screens and silk wall hangings have been discovered. Remains of a large lacquered

A



B



FIGURE 5.14 A, B Painted designs applied to the walls of the front chamber of the king of Nanyue's tomb, Guangzhou, Guangdong province, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 5.15 Reconstruction of a screen excavated from the eastern side of the main coffin chamber of the king of Nanyue's tomb, Western Han dynasty, second century BCE. Height 1.8 m (5.9 ft), width 3 m (9.8 ft). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

wooden screen with gilt bronze ornamental fittings was unearthed from the main room of the tomb of the king of Nanyue (figure 5.15). The wooden screen is no longer extant, but the surface was likely painted.⁷⁰ Bronze fittings have also been excavated from Mancheng tomb 1, indicating that a wooden screen may have been buried there as well.⁷¹ Silk paintings of figures in military formation and of chariots, equestrians, and figures riding in a boat were discovered on the east and west walls of the coffin chamber in Mawangdui tomb 3.⁷²

Textual records of interior ornamentation in the early imperial period indicate a strong emphasis on portable objects for ornamentation during that time. For example, the careful description of the residence of Zhao Feiyan's 趙飛燕 (d. 1 BCE) younger sister Zhao Zhaoyi 趙昭儀 (fl. 18–1 BCE), the *Hall of Brilliant Sunlight* (Zhaoyang dian 昭陽殿) in the *Xijing Zaji* 西京雜記 [Miscellaneous Records of the Western Capital], makes no mention of

wall paintings but highlights the luxurious painted wooden screen centered in the middle of the space, as well as other decorative objects:

Zhao Feiyan's younger sister lived in Zhaoyang Hall, where the central courtyard was [painted] with vermillion and the main hall itself was [ornamented with] red lacquer. . . . In the middle [of the hall] there was arranged a painted wooden screen, with a pattern like the fine threads of a spider's web, together with a jade armrest and jade couch, a white ivory stool and bearskin rug. . . . There were also four jade mat-weights, which were all translucent and completely flawless. A number of the window-leaves were made of green glass: they were also all translucent. . . . The rafters were all carved with dragons and serpents, coiling around [each other], every scale and claw beautifully defined. . . . Everyone who saw [this palace] was completely stunned. The artisans Ding Huan and Li Ju [who made this] were unmatched in their skill.⁷³

This description of Zhao Feiyan's sister's hall indicates that for centuries various Chinese palaces and other important rooms and halls had used screens to focus visual attention on the middle of the room. Couches and armrests were placed around the screen. There may have been a practical reason for this: the middle of the room was likely to be warmer than spaces near the windows.

Some murals have survived in fragments from palace buildings, but they seem to have been used mostly in outdoor spaces, ceilings, or transitional spaces where it was difficult to use screens or hanging scrolls. Murals were discovered in such exterior places in the late Warring States–era Qin Xianyang 咸陽 palace site 3. At that site, they were applied to the opposing walls of a corridor that was nine bays long and connected palace 3 to other palace buildings.⁷⁴ Similarly, in palace 2, the majority of the mural fragments were discovered in the open, colonnaded porch that surrounded the building.⁷⁵ In building 4 of the Han Palace of Lasting Joy (*Changle Gong* 長樂宮), brightly painted murals were applied to the ceiling of several rooms in the semi-subterranean auxiliary residence east of the main hall.⁷⁶

In contrast to their relatively sparse showing in royal tombs, murals were far more common among late Western Han tombs built for deceased government officials. There, portraits of the deceased would often appear on the tomb walls, showing them taking part in banquets, watching entertainers, going on hunts, or even riding on the backs of dragons into the sky (figure 5.16). In these paintings, the person's character, status, and personality were directly commemorated for the sake of the living through the installation of commemorative art. There seems to have been a class



FIGURE 5.16 Painting of the tomb occupant and his wife riding on a dragon and a phoenician, respectively, from a mural in the Bu Qianqiu tomb, Luoyang, Henan province, Western Han dynasty, first century BCE. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

element involved in these lower elites' preference for murals. Because they were not as rich as kings, their tomb spaces were considerably smaller, with doorways that often opened directly into main chambers. They could not afford to place as many objects and spirit vessels in the tomb as an expression of their status and so instead painted images of such objects on the walls.⁷⁷

In sum, after the Shiyuan tomb, the kings of the Western Han seemingly no longer preferred to ornament their tomb spaces with murals. Instead, the mural tradition took hold in the smaller, brick tombs of the later Western Han, which were built for less well-off patrons who often used painted representations to imply wealth that they could not represent with physical objects. These murals, which often featured portraits of the deceased, assumed a different strategy toward representation altogether by directly depicting the deceased in daily activities rather than implying status through sophisticated ornamentation as did the kings and other high elites of the early imperial period.

CONCLUSION

In past studies of early Han art, a long-standing question has been how to interpret motifs such as immortals, dragons, birds, and cloud scrolls, which bear religious content but are found on seemingly secular objects excavated from tombs. Does the presence of such motifs on objects including zithers, toiletry boxes, plates, and game boards indicate that these objects were made exclusively for burial or had a religious function? In a recent work, Sophia-Karin Psarras posed this very question and argued that there is no reason to assume that a lacquer toiletry box buried in a tomb with images of immortals hunting, for example, was not an item previously owned and used by the occupant.⁷⁸ If this is the case, then what is the relationship between an object and its decorative surface?

The present study suggests an alternate path for interpreting such motifs: that they ought to be read as ornament. This not only enables us to avoid the difficulty of imparting a direct religious function to all objects bearing religious motifs, but also provides a more inclusive framework for understanding why such motifs were valued at the time they were produced. Ornament was used not only to communicate the taste and special interests of specific groups but also to transform the viewer's perception of three-dimensional objects and spaces through the placement of motifs on the object's surfacescape.

The case of the Shiyuan murals also illustrates the degree of creative experimentation that occurred at local levels in early Western Han China. As kings began to build rock-cut tombs directly in their locales, the decoration of the tomb interiors became a focal point. At Shiyuan, we observe a concerted effort to coordinate tomb architecture with mural designs to

create a distinctive psychological effect. In particular, the Shiyuan murals helped the living engage in mourning processes in which the presence of the corpse—his or her personality, authority, taste, and status—was deeply experienced in the main tomb space, enabling the living to provide appurtenances for their loved ones. The murals at Shiyuan were an especially local phenomenon. Southern elite culture was championed in the mural, pointing to the deceased's desire (in his/her eyes or in those of his/her mourners) to ascend to a culturally much-contemplated transcendent realm.

Mural paintings of the type seen in Shiyuan seem to have ultimately proved less popular than other modes of decoration for rock-cut tombs because of the enlargement of tomb spaces and a general tradition of interior decoration that focused heavily on portable objects such as screens and hanging scrolls. In later times, murals were carried forward, but in tombs of a different architectural style and commissioned by a lower class. All in all, the Shiyuan murals are a unique window for analyzing the types of decorative painting popular in the courts of the early Western Han. They reflect a tradition of mural painting that focused on suggestion and affect, which was quite distinctive from the more representational mural paintings produced later in the Western Han.

Chapter Six

THE PURPLE TEXTILES OF QI

Tracing the Growth of a Provincial Industry

“Among the great kingdoms of the feudal lords,” Sima Qian remarked, “none surpassed that of King Daohui 悼惠 of Qi 齊 (Liu Fei 劉肥; r. 201–189 BCE).”¹ The kingdom of Qi, originally bestowed on the Han founder’s, Emperor Gaozu’s 高祖 (r. 202–195 BCE), eldest son, King Daohui, was one of the richest territories in the empire, lying more or less in modern-day Shandong province, on China’s east coast. Even later, after the kingdom had been divided several times, the remnant kingdom of Qi remained a formidable power. During Emperor Wu’s 武帝 reign (r. 141–87 BCE), the crafty official Zhufu Yan 主父偃 warned the emperor about the local power, stating that “Linzi, the capital of Qi, has a population of 100,000 households. The taxes from its markets amount to 1,000 catties of gold a day. In wealth and size, it is greater even than the city of Chang’an.”²

Qi’s prosperity can be attributed in part to its long and distinguished history. It was the last state to fall to the Qin in 221 BCE and had historically been successful in many enterprises. During the Eastern Zhou dynasty (770–256 BCE), under Duke Huan of Qi 齊桓公 (r. 685–643 BCE), his minister Guan Zhong 管仲 established a state army, standardized the taxes, and established monopolies on iron and salt.³ Qi was a renowned center of learning; its Jixia Academy (*Jixia xuegong* 穩下學宮) was the largest academy of the day, employing such masters as Mencius 孟子 (372–289 BCE), Shen Dao 慎到 (ca. 395–315 BCE), Xunzi 荀子 (298–238 BCE), and Zou Yan 鄒衍 (ca. 347–276 BCE).⁴

Of the several industries for which Qi was known, textiles, especially purple textiles, were a major source of income. The significance of this

industry and the impact that it had on the way colors were organized and applied by artisans in early China have not been recognized in prior scholarly literature. This chapter will present an overview of Qi's purple textile industry from the Zhou period to the new empire of the Western Han (202 BCE–9 CE), documenting how the kingdom of Qi's maintenance and development of this industry strongly shaped imperial tastes in the new empire and catalyzed other developments such as the fabrication of synthetic pigments.

This chapter will serve as an important counterpoint to the previous four chapters, which have emphasized the way that styles of funerary art and architecture which were developed in the imperial capital evolved in important ways when taken over in the kingdoms. In contrast to that centrifugal trajectory, this chapter shows how a local king, through patronage of an established local industry, exerted a reverse influence on art production—that is, an influence beginning in a local area and extending, by virtue of the king's relationship with the emperor, back to the imperial court. This reverse or centripetal trajectory of influence strongly contributed to the imperial court's desire for Qi's textiles, but it also led to a takeover of the kingdom's prized textile industry by the avaricious Emperor Wu, ultimately benefiting neither the locality nor the imperial center.

THE STATE OF QI AND PURPLE TEXTILES DURING THE ZHOU PERIOD

In the Mediterranean, no color embodied kingship as much as did purple. However, in China, the color purple is often thought to be relatively unimportant, because it was not one of the five major colors and was famously reviled by Confucius. In this section, I will examine the impact of Confucius's comments on the use of purple textiles in ancient China. Evidence from archaeology and historical sources indicates that, despite Confucius, purple textiles became increasingly popular from the Zhou to the Han, which strongly benefited Qi, a state that had become a leading textile producer.

In the *Analects*, Confucius made the following pronouncement:

I hate that purple has taken the place of vermilion. I hate that the sounds of Zheng are being confused with classical music. I hate that those with clever speech have spread throughout the state.

惡紫之奪朱也，惡鄭聲之亂雅樂也，惡利口之覆邦家者。⁵

Purple clothing, in Confucius's view, visually embodied the abandonment of Zhou culture by the elites of his day. For Confucius, no culture was as brilliant and refined as that of the Zhou. In the *Analects*, he states, "The Zhou gazes down upon the two dynasties that preceded it. How brilliant in culture it is! I follow the Zhou."⁶ The Zhou court had prized vermilion as their official color; therefore, elites' privileging of purple above vermilion symbolized their rejection of Zhou culture.⁷ Mencius underscores this reading of Confucius's words, quoting his statement about purple and then arguing, "A gentleman goes back to the norm. That is all. When the norm is properly set, then the common people will be stirred; when the common people are stirred, then heresy and aberration will disappear" (君子反經而已矣。經正，則庶民興；庶民興，斯無邪慝矣).⁸ Just as elites of his day had replaced Zhou classical music with the sensual music of Zheng, Confucius believed that when they sought out clothing that was flashy and extravagant, they were abandoning the tried and tested.⁹

Confucius's remarks, according to some modern scholars, transformed purple into an incorrect color that a gentlemen would not wear. They argue that the bias against purple was also connected to its status as an "intermediary color" (*jianse* 間色)—a color created by mixing standard colors together.¹⁰ In a recent work, for example, Mary Dusenbury states,

In ancient China there was a dichotomy between the principal or "correct" colors (Ch. *zhengse*) and the intermediary or secondary colors (Ch. *jianse*). Only the correct colors were believed to be efficacious and therefore appropriate for official or ceremonial use.¹¹

Dusenbury's remarks that *jianse* colors were considered inappropriate for official contexts is based on a specific passage in the *Liji* that prohibits the sale of objects of "false colors," among other items:

Vessels of the ancestral temple are not to be sold at the market . . . implements of non-standard measurements are not to be sold at the market . . . war chariots of irregular sizes are not to be sold at the market; cloth or silk, fine or coarse, not of the prescribed quality, or broader or narrower than the proper rule is not to be sold at the market; (fabrics of) false colors that can be confused with (fabrics of) correct colors are not to be sold at the market.

宗廟之器，不鬻於市……用器不中度，不鬻於市……兵車不中度，不鬻於市。布帛精粗不中數、幅廣狹不中量，不鬻於市。姦色亂正色，不鬻於市。¹²

In this passage, the *Liji* prohibits the sale of fabrics of “false colors” (*jianse* 蕤色) that might be taken for “correct colors” (*zhengse* 正色). Dusenbury’s reading of this passage as a prescription against intermediary colors seemingly follows the Qing commentator, Sun Xidan 孫希旦 (1736–1784), who reads “false colors” (*jianse* 蕤色) as meaning “‘incorrect colors’ of types such as light red and purple,” (不正之色，若紅紫之屬也).¹³ Sun specifically cites light red and purple because Confucius once said that the gentleman did not use either of these colors for his informal dress.¹⁴ Light red and purple are both intermediary colors.

Yet it remains unclear whether “false colors” (*jianse* 蕤色) should be read as “intermediary colors” (*jianse* 間色) as Sun suggests since other passages of the *Liji* and the *Xunzi* recommend wearing such shades. The *Xunzi* 荀子, for example, describes the emperor as wearing both the five colors and intermediary colors with no negative connotation attached to the latter:

The clothes and garments he [the Son of Heaven] wears are of the five colors mixed with intermediary colors. They are covered with repeated patterns and embroidered designs with ornaments of pearl and jade.

衣被則服五采，雜間色，重文繡，加飾之以珠玉。¹⁵

Similarly the *Liji*, in another passage, also recommends wearing intermediary colors, stating, “One should wear a ‘correct color’ on top and an ‘intermediary color’ on the bottom” (衣正色，裳間色).¹⁶ Even more directly than the *Xunzi* text just quoted, this passage seems to exhort the ruler and the gentleman to wear intermediary colors. The presence of such passages in canonical texts casts serious doubt on the notion that purple was broadly forbidden in early imperial China.

The negative attitude toward purple conveyed in Sun Xidan’s reading of the *Liji* passage above might be connected specifically with Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200 CE), who, imparting a misogynist spin, argued the following concerning the passage in the *Analects* in which Confucius recommends not wearing purple or light red silks for informal clothing: “purple and light red, these are intermediary colors that are not correct; further, they are close to the colors selected for clothing (worn by) married women and girls” (紅紫，間色不正，且近於婦人女子之服也).¹⁷ It is this tradition that has been later mapped back on antiquity and has concealed the place of prominence held by purple in those ancient Chinese societies.

Despite later impressions, historical and archaeological sources indicate that the so-called intermediary color of purple was in fact highly popular before and after Confucius's day. The text of *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策, compiled during the Han but containing documents quoted and cited from the Warring States period, (480–221 BCE) shows us that purple textiles had a prohibitively high price tag. It states, "The purple produced by the Qi people is more popular than white and it costs ten times the amount" (齊人紫敗素也, 而賈十倍).¹⁸

Archaeological evidence from the Warring States–era tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng 曾侯乙墓 (d. ca. 433 BCE) has also confirmed the importance of purple textiles during the Warring States period. Of five lacquer garment chests discovered at the site, the lid of a lavishly painted black and red example was inscribed in lacquer as containing exclusively "purple brocade garments" (*zi jin zhi yi* 紫錦之衣) (figure. 6.1). This was the only garment chest whose contents were specifically marked on the lid, indicating that purple brocade silks were much valued.¹⁹ Despite the survival of the wooden box, none of the purple garments originally entombed have survived.



FIGURE 6.1 Wooden clothing chest lacquered in black with red designs excavated from the Zeng Hou Yi tomb, Leigudun, Sui county, Hubei province, Warring States period, fifth century BCE. Written on the chest's lid are the characters "purple brocade garments" (*zi jin zhi yi* 紫錦之衣). Height 37 cm (1.2 ft), length 69 cm (2.3 ft), width 49 cm (1.6 ft). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

Textual sources also indicate that purple garments were popular during the Warring States period and were particularly associated with one region: Qi. This is not only exemplified by the *Zhanguo ce* passage cited previously, but also by the following passage from the geographical treatise in the *Hanshu*, which depicts Qi as the center of textile production during that time:

When Duke Huan employed Guan Zhong (d. 645 BCE), he set out the “light and heavy” theory [of capitalizing on supply and demand] to enrich the state . . . therefore, customs became extravagant. For dyed woven silks they created exquisite pure white silks and colored silks, which were said to have become the hats, belts, clothes and shoes of all-under-heaven.

桓公用管仲，設輕重以富國……故其俗彌侈，織作冰紈綺繡純麗之物，號為冠帶衣履天下。²⁰

According to this account, the textiles produced in Qi were exported widely to states throughout China.

Another passage indicates that of the textiles that Qi produced, purple silks were particularly valued. The *Han Feizi* 韓非子, a text compiled during the Han but mostly thought to be from the hand of the well-known scholar Han Fei 韓非 (ca. 280–233 BCE), states the following:

Duke Huan of Qi (r. 685–643 BCE) loved to wear purple clothes and the entire state dressed in purple. At that time, one could not buy one purple thread for the price of five white threads. Duke Huan was concerned and said to Guan Zhong, “I like purple clothes, but purple clothes are very expensive. Our state’s hundred surnames (that is, the people) like to wear purple clothes continually. What should I do about this?” Guan Zhong replied, “If Your Highness wants to stop them, why doesn’t he for a time not wear any purple clothes at all, and tell the attendants, ‘I strongly dislike the bad odour of purple clothes.’” Thenceforth, whenever any attendant in purple clothes enters, the Duke must say, ‘Move away a bit! I dislike the bad odour of purple clothes.’ ‘All right,’ said the Duke. Accordingly, that day, no courtier wore purple clothes. By the next day, nobody in the state capital wore purple clothes; and by the third day nobody within the state boundaries wore purple clothes.²¹

齊桓公好服紫，一國盡服紫。當是時也，五素不得一紫。桓公患之，謂管仲曰：「寡人好服紫，紫貴甚。一國百姓好服紫不已，寡人奈何？」管仲曰：「君欲止之，何不試勿衣紫也，謂左右曰：吾甚惡紫之臭。」於是左右適有

衣紫而進者，公必曰：「少卻，吾惡紫臭。」公曰：「諾。」於是日，郎中莫衣紫；其明日，國中莫衣紫；三日，境內莫衣紫也。²²

In the *Han Feizi* story, the duke's love of purple had driven up the price of purple thread to many times that of white thread. The craze for purple textiles was bankrupting the state. As such, the duke purportedly declared the textiles to have a bad odor, driving down the demand and illustrating the important impact that a ruler's likes and dislikes could have on the court, the capital, and the population.

The *Han Feizi* account echoes other statements linking Duke Huan to purple clothing, such as an account in the *Zhuangzi* 莊子 in which an officer of Qi tells Duke Huan of a ghost named Weiyi 委蛇 who is “as large as a wheel, as long as an axle, and wears purple clothes and red cap” (其大如轂，其長如轅，紫衣而朱冠). He explains, “Anyone who sees it may become a hegemon” (見之者殆乎霸).²³ Duke Huan was the first hegemon of the Eastern Zhou; the purple clothes and red cap worn by the monster likely pointed to the clothing worn by the duke himself.²⁴

PURPLE TEXTILES IN THE QIN EMPIRE

Despite the *Han Feizi*'s claim that Duke Huan quelled his people's desire for purple, other sources indicate that purple's popularity never subsided. In fact, purple became even more important after the founding of the Qin empire (221–207 BCE). This has not been recognized in modern scholarship principally because of the emphasis on five-color theory for the early imperial period, a theory in which colors were associated with specific dynasties, elements, directions, etc.²⁵ Certainly, color hierarchies played an important role in the founding of new dynasties up to modern times; dynastic colors often changed for new reign names or for new emperors within the same dynasty. Important critical and historiographical works of Han times often repeat the notion that the Qin First Emperor adopted certain quasi-naturalistic ideas professed by followers of a thinker named Zou Yan 鄒衍, and that the emperor used them to visually identify his dynasty as having formally replaced the color of the Zhou. Thereby, the new dynasty was seen as being correctly correlated to an important prophetic principle about natural cycles. According to the *Shiji*,

[The First Emperor] held that the Zhou dynasty had ruled by the power of fire. Since the Qin had replaced the Zhou, its power should therefore proceed from that which

fire cannot overcome; the power of water had now begun its era of dominance. He changed the time for court celebrations marking the beginning of the year, holding them on the first day of the tenth month, and all clothing, flags, and pennants honoured the colour black.²⁶

Because Zou Yan's disciples maintained that red and fire were associated with the Zhou, the Qin adopted water as their patron element, to signify their metaphysically legitimate ascendancy, and black as their patron color. Court clothing, banners, and flags were all dyed this color.

Yet even during an era when black was honored as the patron color, purple remained the principal color of prestige for a variety of ceremonies and important occasions, and increased in popularity. According to the histories, the gold seal with the purple cord (*jinyin zishou* 金印紫綬) was the highest seal of office. In the early Qin, this insignia was carried by the highest civil and military positions in the Qin state: the two chancellors of state (*xiangguo* 相國),²⁷ the grand commandant (*taiwei* 太尉), and the generals of the van, rear, left, and right (*qianhou zuoyou jiangjun* 前後左右將軍).²⁸ A gold seal with a purple cord was also used for the aristocratic seals of the *chehou* 徹侯, the highest rank out of the twenty official aristocratic ranks.²⁹ By comparison, a silver seal with a blue-green cord was carried by officials with a salary grade of 2,000 piculs and above;³⁰ a bronze seal with a black cord by officials with salary grades of 600 to 1,999 piculs;³¹ and a bronze seal with a yellow cord by officials with salary grades of 200 to 599 piculs.³²

Evidence from the First Emperor's terracotta army further supports the thesis that purple remained a color of prestige in the Qin state. Of the six major colors used to paint the terracotta warriors, green was the most popular, followed by red and then purple.³³ Several of the highest-ranking figures in the army, the generals, wore long purple robes.³⁴

Aside from this, it remains difficult to determine the overall importance attached to purple in these terracotta army figures because of the small amount of paint remaining on them and, in particular, the lack of realism employed in the figures' paint.³⁵ Generally, the colors selected for the warriors were chosen for their opulence, contrast, and practicality. Green was utilized much more than any other color, most likely because of the relatively high availability of malachite compared to other pigments.³⁶ Qin artisans also placed a high value on contrast. As Yuan Zhongyi has noted, "If an upper garment was green then it often had a purple or red border. This would often be paired with blue or purple or red trousers."³⁷ Thus, the matter of prestige is hard to separate from the other deduced needs and practices surrounding color usage.

PURPLE TEXTILES DURING THE EARLY WESTERN HAN

In the Qin, the simple fact that purple, at the level of academic court debate, was outside of the five-elements system enabled to it be continuously associated with high rank. In fact, after the empire passed from the Qin to the Western Han, the status of purple actually rose. This can be attributed in part to the Qi kings' maintenance of their critical industry.

How did this industry grow, and how was that related to certain needs of the early Western Han state? The Han central administration retained much of the Qin bureaucratic structure. The gold seal with purple cord remained the insignia of the highest official ranks. The seal was carried by the grand tutor (*taifu* 太傅), the highest-ranking member of the Han government, and by other key officials at the imperial court.³⁸ This appurtenance of high office is also attested in a well-known writing from a time near the end of Eastern Han: the *Duduan* 獨斷 [Solitary decisions], an essay by a gifted scholar and technical expert on many subjects, Cai Yong 蔡邕 (132–192 CE). In it we learn that from the reign of Emperor Wu onward, the Han emperors themselves utilized purple clay for their seal impressions.³⁹ An example of such a seal impression is extant in the Tokyo National Museum (figure 6.2).⁴⁰

The fact that purple sealing clay began to be used during Emperor Wu's reign is not coincidence. The histories record that it was during Emperor Wu's reign that the rank of the color purple was further elevated, becoming the color associated with the divinity known as *Taiyi* 太一 ("the Great Unity"), a god Emperor Wu declared to be superior to all other gods. According to the *Shiji*, in 135 BCE a *fangshi* 方士 named Miu Ji 誘忌 suggested to the emperor that "the Great Unity is the most honoured of the spirits of Heaven and his helpers are the Five Emperors" (天神貴者泰一，泰一佐曰五帝).⁴¹ Wudi responded by ordering his grand supplicator (*taizhu* 太祝) to set up a place of worship for *Taiyi* southeast of Chang'an 長安 in order to accommodate sacrifices that accorded with Miu Ji's instructions.⁴² In 113 BCE, Emperor Wu decided to personally sacrifice to *Taiyi* after Gongsun Qing 公孫卿, another *fangshi* from Qi, convinced him that a cauldron discovered in Wei 魏 indicated that the emperor would attain immortality in that year. He built an altar to *Taiyi* at the Palace of Sweet Springs, which was modeled on Miu Ji's altar to the Great Unity and had three levels (figure 6.3). *Taiyi* received sacrifices on the highest level of the altar, and his priests wore the most sumptuous attire—embroidered purple robes that paralleled the purple of the altar. The ancient and divine



FIGURE 6.2 Purple clay seal impression, which reads “Seal of the king of Zichuan” (*Zichuan wang xi* 葛川王璽), Western Han dynasty. Tokyo National Museum. Reproduced by permission of TNM Image Archives.

Five Emperors were worshiped on the middle altar, with priests dressed in the five standard colors. On the lowest alter, sacrifices were made to other spirits, the Big Dipper constellation, and the sun and moon. The high status of Taiyi was communicated not only by his position on the altar but also by the food offerings he received, which were sumptuous far beyond the level of those offered to lower-rung spirits.⁴³

It is unclear precisely when Taiyi became connected with the color purple. The earliest reference can be found in the *Huainanzi* 淮南子 text, which was compiled under the auspices of the king of Huainan 淮南, Liu An 劉安 (r. 164–122 BCE). A passage in the text states that “the Purple Palace is the dwelling place of the Great One [Taiyi]” (紫宮者，太一之居也).⁴⁴ It is likely that Daoists adopted the color during the Han because it had already accrued prestige centuries earlier, outside of any association with the Five Emperors.

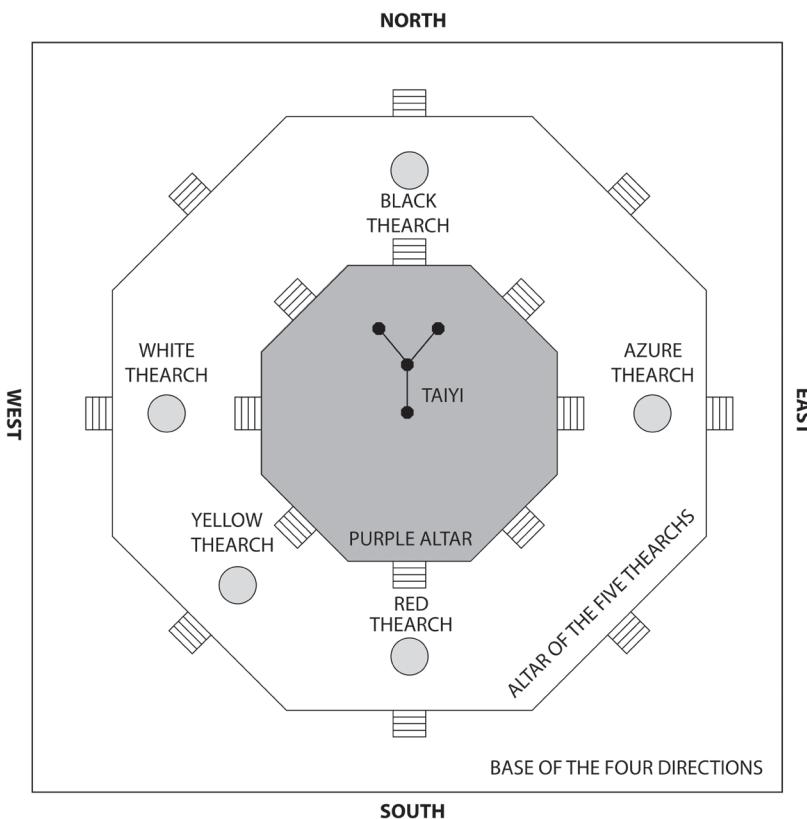


FIGURE 6.3 Reconstruction of the altar to Taiyi at the Palace of Sweet Springs. Redrawn by Gary Wang and the author after Li Ling, “An Archaeological Study of Taiyi (Grand One) Worship,” 29.

That purple textiles remained popular and, more importantly, were still required for the court likely contributed to the continued growth of Qi’s textile industry during the Han. The Qi kingdom continued to produce a wide variety of silks at their workshops in the capital city of Linzi 臨淄, which at that time were referred to as the “Three Garment Bureaus” (*sanfuguan* 三服官)—a name derived either from the seasons spring, winter, and summer or from the three buildings where silk was made and dyed.⁴⁵ Portions of the silks produced in Qi—plain, dyed, and patterned—were likely presented to the Han imperial court as part of Qi’s yearly tribute.⁴⁶

Among the textiles produced by Qi, archaeological evidence indicates that purple textiles continued to be important during the Han. In 2006,

excavators unearthed a large auxiliary pit in the vicinity of the Xiangshan 香山 mountain tomb that has been attributed to Liu Xian 劉賢, king of Zichuan 蕤川 (r. 164–154 BCE), near present-day Qingzhou 青州 city, Shandong (figure 6.4). The kingdom of Zichuan was formed when Emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 180–157 BCE) divided Qi among the sons of King Daohui

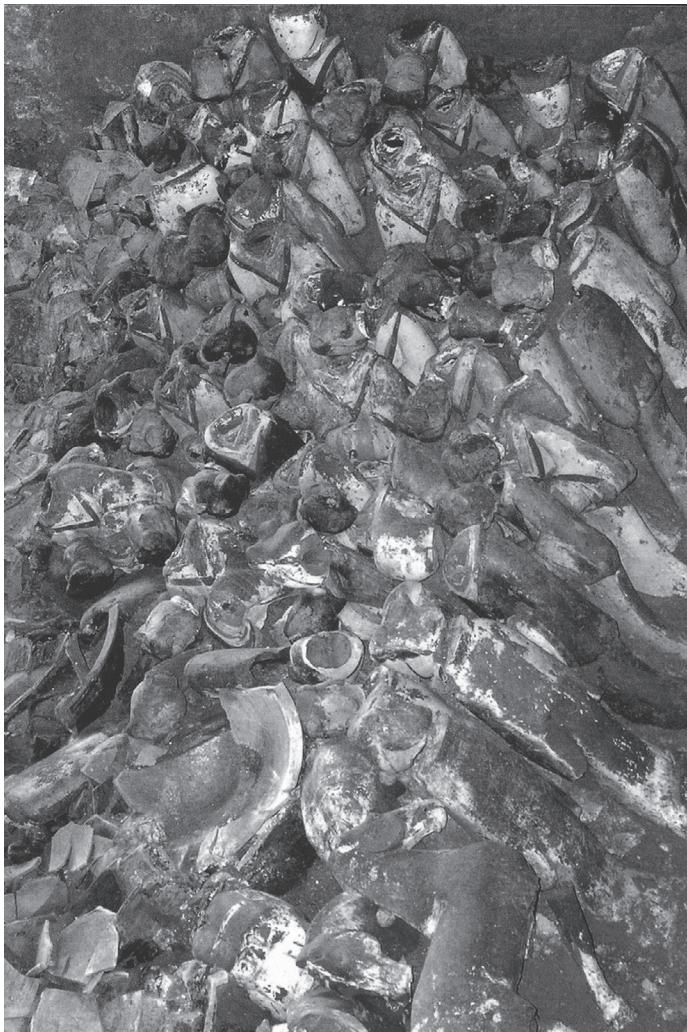


FIGURE 6.4 Excavation photograph showing painted figures and other ceramic objects in the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Qingzhou Museum.

in 164 BCE.⁴⁷ Zichuan was located just east of Qi's capital, Linzi. From that pit, archaeologists unearthed more than two thousand brightly painted ceramic figurines, including humans, horses and other animals, two miniature chariots, and other sacrificial and everyday ceramic vessels, buried in two layers.⁴⁸ Most striking was the large number of human figures and horses with garments and ornaments painted in brilliant shades of purple and blue (figures 6.5 and 6.6). Some other figurines from the Han period were



FIGURE 6.5 Painted earthenware figure wearing a purple robe from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Qingzhou Museum.



FIGURE 6.6 Painted earthenware robed male figure with mustache and goatee from the auxiliary pit near the Xiangshan tomb, Qingzhou, Shandong province, Western Han, second century BCE. Courtesy of the Qingzhou Museum.

occasionally painted in purple, but nowhere near to the degree it was used on the Xiangshan figures (figure 6.7). Many are wearing long purple robes.

A purple garment buried in a special position was also discovered in the Lingsheng Lake tomb in Shandong, the best-preserved large-scale stave wall (*huangchang ticou* 黃腸題湊) tomb ever excavated.⁴⁹ There, archaeologists uncovered a purple garment buried with a jade disc in a bamboo case under a floor in the corridor that led into the tomb's main chamber. The flooring



FIGURE 6.7 Painted earthenware kneeling figure in a purple robe from the tomb of Zhou Ying 周應, located in the accompanying cemetery in the eastern part of the Yangling mausoleum district, Shaanxi Province, Western Han dynasty. Height 41 cm (16.1 in). Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.

was loose, thus exposing the case, and the garment, having been submerged in water, was well preserved.⁵⁰

As Qi continued to be a leader in textile production, Linzi textile workshops attracted the attention of the Han imperial court. The histories do not record the date when the workshops were formally acquired by the imperial government. Likely, it occurred when the king of Qi (Liu Cichang 劉次昌

[r. 131–127 BCE]) died without heir in 127 BCE and the kingdom became an imperially managed commandery for a period of roughly ten years.⁵¹ After the workshops were acquired, they became the most important producer of silk for the dynastic house. According to the later commentator Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645 CE), “the Three Garment Bureaus were entrusted with making the Son of Heaven’s clothing” (三服官主作天子之服).⁵²

The workshops were expensive, costing the court millions of coins to operate. Emperor Yuan’s 元帝 (r. 48–33 BCE) chief prosecutor (*yushi dafu* 御史大夫), Gong Yu 貢禹, described the workshop’s operational figures as follows:

In earlier times, the Three Garment Bureaus of Qi [at this time, still under Qi control] shipped no more than ten bamboo boxes to the capital. Now Qi’s Three Garment Bureaus [controlled by the capital] employ more than several thousand workmen. In one year, they cost very many ten-thousands of cash to operate. In Shu [an important commandery in western China], the Guanghan workshop creates gold and silver items. Each year, this costs 5 million cash to run. The Three Workshop Bureaus [at the capital] cost 50 million in cash and the Eastern and Western Weaving Houses [at the capital] a similar amount.

故時齊三服官輸物不過十笥，方今齊三服官作工各數千人，一歲費數鉅萬。
蜀廣漢主金銀器，歲各用五百萬。三工官官費五千萬，東西織室亦然。⁵³

In this speech, Gong Yu argued that Qi’s Three Garment Bureaus ought to be relinquished from imperial control because of the crippling costs of maintaining this and other government-run factories. According to Gong Yu, the increased demand for silk under Emperor Wu was due to the size of the emperor’s harem. He states that during the reigns of Emperors Gaozu, Wen, and Jing 景帝 (r. 157–141 BCE), imperial consorts “barely exceeded ten in number” (宮女不過十餘), whereas when Emperor Wu came to power he “selected so many attractive women that they numbered several thousand and filled the rear palace” (多取好女至數千人，以填後宮).⁵⁴

The imperial takeover of Qi’s textile workshops for the purpose of richly clothing the emperor and his relations had steep costs, not only for the imperial house but also for the production areas in Qi. Government-owned enterprises were wasteful, inefficient, and expensive, and they took money away from local producers. For this reason, in 44 BCE, during Emperor Yuan’s reign, when the empire experienced a terrible famine, the imperial

house relinquished control of Qi's workshops.⁵⁵ However, the imperial house appears to have reestablished control over the workshops by Emperor Ai's 哀帝 reign (r. 7–1 BCE). At that time, the histories record that another set of austerity measures was adopted, which again entailed shutting down imperial silk production in Linzi, ordering the workshop to immediately halt work and not to ship finished silks to the capital.⁵⁶ The reestablishment of imperial control after 44 BCE apparently yielded the same problems of cost and inefficiency as occurred prior to 44 BCE.

Previous chapters have emphasized the way art styles and materials, originating from very early trends during Zhou times or, more directly, from the influential practices of the First Emperor of Qin, were expanded upon and put to different uses in the funerary contexts of local places and local concerns during early Western Han. Here, in contrast, it seems that a local phenomenon in the general Shandong area and its early Western Han king, through his support of a local textile and dye industry, can be seen as having influenced and even stimulated an escalating need for purple at the Han imperial courts.

THE SOURCE OF QI'S MONOPOLY

This account has laid out the notion that the Warring States polity of Qi established a strong reputation as a producer of textiles that continued without diminution under the Qi kings' patronage of this industry during the Han. This advantage may have derived from a craft tradition that had developed over a number of generations, but there may have been other contributing factors as well. The popularity of purple silks from Qi, in particular, may have been related to the specific geographical attributes of this region, particularly its location near the sea.

Traditionally, it has been believed that early China's purple silk was dyed with gromwell (*zi cao* 紫草, or *Lithospermum officinale*, whose roots are *Lithospermum erythrorhizon*), a plant that produces muted purple, ranging from the tone of lilac flowers to eggplants.⁵⁷ However, from the perspective of material history, this presents a problem, because gromwell is not strongly linked with Shandong in historical sources, nor was it particularly expensive. With regard to the location where it was grown, the *Bowuzhi* 博物志 [Treatise on manifold topics] by Zhang Hua 張華 (232–300 CE) states:

Gromwell from Pingshi county and Dangshan county (both in modern-day Henan) is particularly fine. Purple garments dyed in the kingdom of Wei are slightly black.

In recent years, Dongshan county (Zhejiang province) also grows it and the color of those garments is a bit lighter than in the north.

平氏陽山紫草特好。魏國以染色殊黑。比年東山亦種，色小淺於北者。⁵⁸

A work of Northern Song times, the *Bencao tujing* 本草圖經 [Illustrated pharmacopoeia] of 1062 states, “Gromwell, it grows in the peaks and valleys of Mt. Dang and in Chu. Today, it can be found everywhere. Some families cultivate it in their gardens or transplant it. Its roots are used for dyeing purple” (紫草，生礪山山谷及楚地，今處處有之。人家園圃中，或種蒔。其根所以染紫也).⁵⁹ By the seventeenth century, Matteo Ricci’s (1552–1610) dictionary of plants in China names a large number of regions where *zicao* was grown—Dongbei, Hebei, Henan, Anhui, Guangxi, Guizhou, and Jiangsu, as well as Korea and Japan. Shandong is not among those on the list. Additional varieties of *zicao* (*Lithospermum tschimganicum*, *Arnebia thomsonii*, etc.), according to Ricci, could be found in Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, Gansu, and Tibet.⁶⁰

If gromwell was neither expensive nor associated with Qi, then why would Qi have developed such a reputation for its purple silks? Wang Xu 王抒 (1930–1997), a leading textile archaeologist born in Laizhou 萊州, Shandong province, has argued for another explanation: Qi artisans dyed their silks with dye precursors extracted from marine mollusks of the *Muricidae* family; such dyes are often referred to as “murex” dyes.⁶¹ In the ancient civilizations of the Mediterranean and the Middle East, purple fabrics dyed with mollusk dye were an important prestige item. At times, such dyed fabrics were so valued that they were sold for their weight in silver and gold. During certain Roman and Byzantine imperial reigns, edicts prohibited anyone but the emperor from wearing purple.⁶²

The prohibitive cost of shellfish purple can be connected with the high number of shells required to dye a single garment. Shellfish purple is created from a pasty secretion obtained from the hypobranchial gland of *Muricidae* mollusks, which contains pigment precursors that develop into brilliant shades of purple when exposed to oxygen and sunlight (figure 6.8).⁶³ Dyeing fabrics this way is typically done through one of two methods: direct dyeing (rubbing textiles with the mucus from the mollusk’s hypobranchial gland) or vat dyeing (macerating mollusk glands with salt and shell debris and diluting them in large, heated dye vats).⁶⁴ Wang Xu estimated that one can extract approximately 0.1–0.2 grams of dye from each mollusk, so that to dye a small

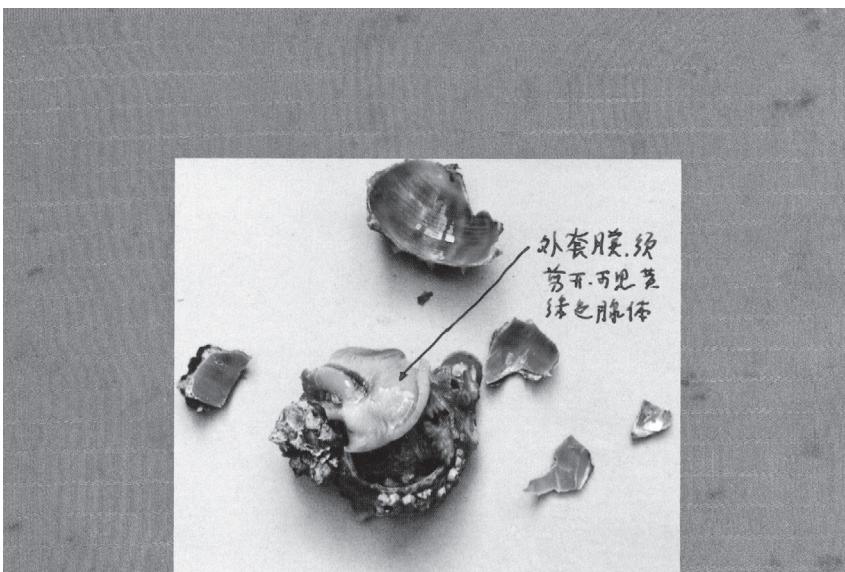


FIGURE 6.8 Photograph of a Shandong mollusk and a silk fragment dyed purple by Wang Xu using shellfish dye. Courtesy of Zhao Feng.

10 × 10 cm patch of cloth light purple, one needs approximately two to four mollusks. To dye a single robe of 3.5 meters of cloth thus would have required at least 600–1,200 mollusks. For a deeper purple, three to five times as many mollusks may have been required.⁶⁵

Wang argued that the high cost of purple fabric and its purported “stinky smell” present strong evidence that the ancient Chinese may have dyed their textiles purple with shellfish dye. One of the noted effects of direct dyeing is that a slight odor remains on the fabric.⁶⁶ In Wang Xu’s experiments with dyeing fabrics using shellfish obtained from the Shandong coast, he noted that if the mucous from the mollusk’s hypobranchial gland touches the skin, it can take roughly one month for the odor to subside.⁶⁷

If some of the purple textiles described in early texts were dyed with mollusk dye, this would explain the following passage in the *Xunzi*: “The Eastern Sea has purple shells, fish, and salt; nonetheless, the Central States acquire them and use them for food and clothing” (東海則有紫絛魚鹽焉，然而中國得而衣食之).⁶⁸ Moreover, if the *Guanzi* 管子 is correct, then Qi may have discovered seashell dyeing when they attacked and annexed the seacoast region of Lai 莱.⁶⁹

According to research by Terada Takako, approximately six hundred out of two thousand species of sea snails in the *Muricidae* family are found in East Asia. Of those six hundred, she estimates that approximately two hundred species contain purple dye precursors.⁷⁰ In studies of dye practices around the world, it has become clear that shellfish dyeing was practiced worldwide—in ancient civilizations in the Mediterranean, in the Middle East, on the Atlantic coasts of Europe and South and Central America, and in Southeast Asia.⁷¹ In China, purple-producing mollusks are currently sold in Shandong coastal markets as food. Ancient shell mounds are often found in Shandong, but species identification is not always conducted and researchers have not paid attention to indicators that show when mollusks may have been used for purple dye—namely, the breakage of the shell at the hypobronchial gland.⁷²

To date, no extant ancient purple fabrics have been positively tested for mollusk dye in China; however, very few ancient textiles have been scientifically analyzed at all, in part because so few textiles have been preserved. The earliest surviving purple textile specimens are probably those excavated from Mashan 馬山 tomb 1 in Hubei province. The archaeological report describes three items as having been dyed “reddish purple”: an embroidered gown with a coiled phoenix and dragon design, a striped damask border, and the border of a mat placed on the bottom of the coffin.⁷³ Concerning items of Western Han date, I have accounted for only four purple textiles excavated to date. Two of these, from the Mawangdui 馬王堆 and Dabaotai 大葆台 tombs, were originally identified by Wang Xu (figure 6.9).⁷⁴ The others were excavated more recently from the Lingsheng Lake tomb in Dingtao 定陶 county, Shandong, mentioned previously in this chapter, and the Rizhao 日照 tomb, also in Shandong (figure 6.10). In these tombs, only the finest embroidered silks were dyed purple.⁷⁵

For data that may help us make indirect links, we turn to Japan. There, purple dye from shellfish has been positively identified on silk fragments discovered at the Yoshinogari 吉野ヶ里 site in southern Japan, which dates to the Yayoi period (300 BCE–300 CE). Yoshinogari is a large moat-enclosed settlement positioned between two rivers in northern Kyushu that was excavated from 1986 to 1989. In 1991, researchers discovered purple shellfish dye on silk fragments found in three separate burial jars that had been recovered from the site.⁷⁶ The fragments were attached to a rare bronze dagger, believed to have been imported from the Korean peninsula, and two shell bracelets, which were buried in tombs dating to the period from the first

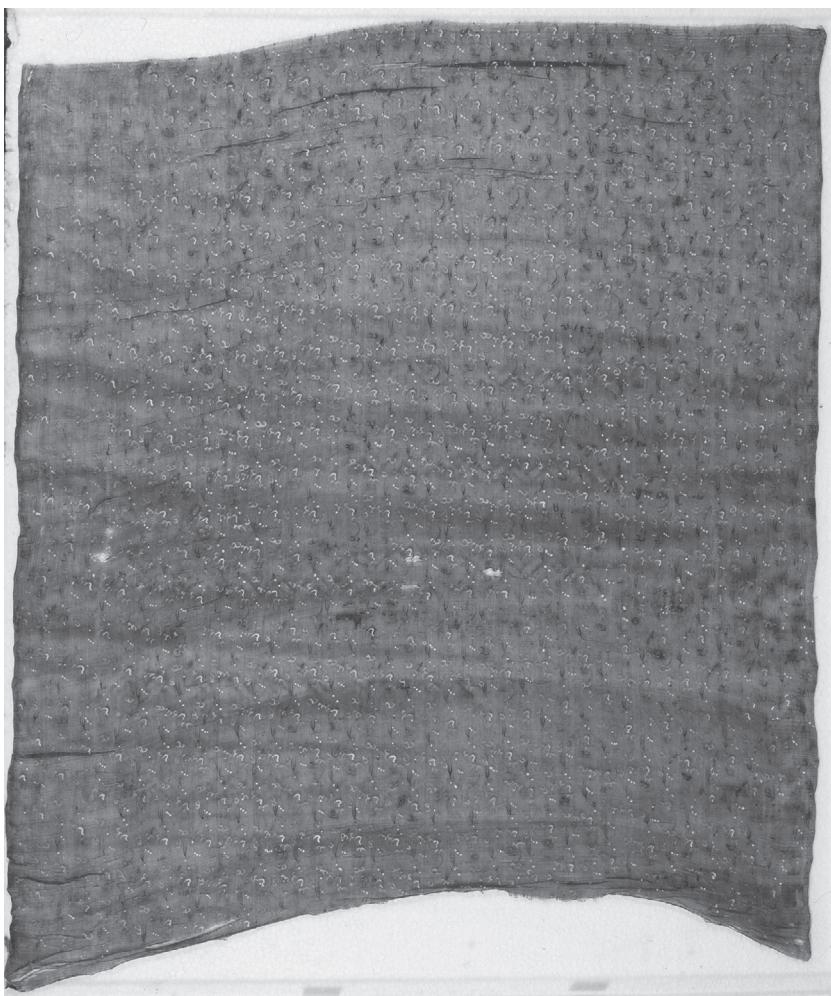


FIGURE 6.9 Purple silk gauze with painted and printed designs from Mawangdui tomb 1, Changsha, Hunan province, Western Han, second century BCE. Length 44 cm (1.4 ft), width 53 cm (1.7 ft). Courtesy of the Hunan Museum.

century BCE to the first century CE (figure 6.11).⁷⁷ One of the silk fragments was found in one of the most opulent urn burials at the site (SJ1002); it was located in a high mound of tamped earth, reserved for people of the highest status. Among the textiles there, only the silk fragments were dyed with either seashell purple or madder (a red dye), indicating that purple dye was applied only to expensive fabrics.⁷⁸

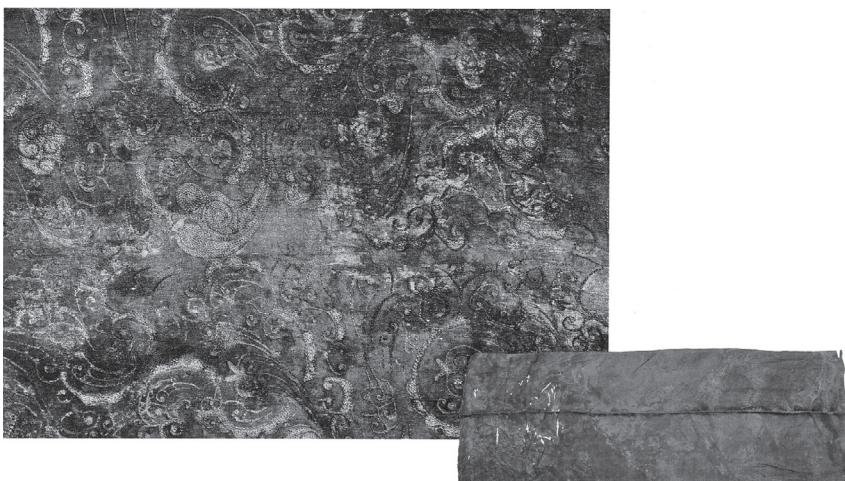


FIGURE 6.10 Embroidered silk excavated from tomb 125 of the Haiqu cemetery, Rizhao, Shandong province, Western Han dynasty. Reproduced by permission of Cultural Relics Press.



FIGURE 6.11 Jar burial containing a bronze dagger wrapped in a purple silk fragment, Yayoi period (300 BCE–300 CE), Yoshinogari, Kyushu, Japan. Courtesy of the Saga Prefectural Board of Education.

In 1879, Edward Morse, professor of zoology at Tokyo University, first identified shell mounds containing *Rapana foliacea* and *Mancinella Luteostoma* that were “neatly broken off at the point where the hypobranchial gland occurs” at the prehistoric site at Omori, south of Tokyo. Mixed together with the shells were pottery remains and human bones, which Morse concluded were evidence of cannibalism.⁷⁹ Other sites were subsequently discovered northeast of Tokyo at Okadaira.⁸⁰

The case of Japan provides an instructive model for understanding the potential development of shellfish dye in China. Although archaeologists have found evidence that shellfish dye was used in the Yayoi, and even in prehistoric Japan, historical records indicate that the gromwell plant became the primary source of purple dye by the seventh century CE. When Empress Suiko 推古天皇 (554–628 CE) and Prince Shōtoku 聖德太子 (574–622 CE) introduced a new twelve-cap rank system in 603 CE, the color of the highest-ranking courtier’s cap was purple.⁸¹ However, it was decreed that the purple should be dyed with *murasaki* (紫)—that is, gromwell.⁸² It is unclear why the Japanese never returned to dyeing fabrics with shellfish dye; Daisuke Yamaguchi has argued that it may have been due to the influence of Buddhism, which prohibited the killing of living beings, or because of the strong smell associated with dyeing by use of mollusks.⁸³ If Buddhism was the cause, it may perhaps parallel early Buddhist argumentation in China concerning the killing of silkworms during silk production.⁸⁴

The abandonment of shellfish dye could also have been a result of overfishing, which later contributed to the eventual abandonment of Tyrian purple in the West. In 1464, for example, Pope Paul II decreed that his cardinals wear robes of carmine (scarlet) rather than purple, in part because of the near-extinction of purple-producing mollusks.⁸⁵

Finally, it should be emphasized that, in China and elsewhere around the world, cheap purple vegetal dyes had always been available. When expensive purples came into play, those cheap dyes likely became more popular, so that there were grades of purple garments across the empire.⁸⁶ Moreover, as in Japan, the use of shellfish for purple dye in China may have ceased after the Han for a variety of reasons: it may have been too labor intensive, too expensive, and possibly too Qi localized relative to the other methods.⁸⁷ Or it may have been related to overfishing or to religious objections after the introduction of Buddhism. Nonetheless, purple, with its implications for ancient and Han-era rituals and gods, was never definitively prohibited or derogated to the point of its abandonment. Thus, whether through mollusks

to a small degree, or through the inexpensive vegetal methods, the color purple kept its presence throughout China and Japan.

THE IMPACT OF PURPLE TEXTILES ON OTHER ART MEDIA

Evidence indicates that the popularity of purple textiles likely led to developments in other art media as well. As artisans desired to create painted figurines wearing purple clothing, they also experimented with new techniques to create purple, leading to new technological discoveries. In particular, the popularity of purple in textiles may have facilitated the development of purple and blue paints created from synthetic pigments.

Natural mineral sources for stable purple pigments were extremely rare in antiquity. Whereas earth colors were easily obtained, blues could only be achieved using minerals such as lapis lazuli and azurite; purples likewise could be created by mixing lapis lazuli or azurite with a red pigment such as iron oxide or vermillion.⁸⁸ However, neither of these formulas was optimal. Lapis lazuli was rare, expensive, and not commonly used in early China; azurite was abundant but not stable.⁸⁹ To remedy this situation, early Chinese artisans began to create technically advanced pigments, synthetic pigments, to paint their figures.

The use of synthetic pigments on early Chinese figurines is significant because outside of China, only two other civilizations in the ancient world had the technical ability to produce synthetic purples and blues: the Egyptian and the Mayan.⁹⁰ The production of these Chinese purple and blue synthetic pigments involved a complex process. Reactive substances including copper compounds, barite, and quartz had to be heated with lead salts in a kiln that maintained a constant temperature of 900 °C–1100 °C for “Han purple,” or above 1100 °C for “Han blue,” for roughly twenty hours.⁹¹ (The terms “Han purple” and “Han blue” follow current scientific usage and do not refer to the name of a dynasty.⁹²)

Han purple and blue, like Egyptian blue, were rediscovered after long periods of disuse. After falling out of use during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, Egyptian blue was rediscovered in the late eighteenth century with the rediscovery of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae and the 1798 French Egyptian expedition.⁹³ Han blue and purple were rediscovered much later. The compounds were first resynthesized beginning around the turn of the twentieth century by scientists who were unaware that the compounds had ever been used in ancient China.⁹⁴ It was not until 1983 that

Han blue and purple were discovered in octagonal sticks from the Warring States period by Elisabeth West FitzHugh and Lynda Zycherman of the Freer Gallery of Art.⁹⁵ Scholars are currently researching a change of state that Han purple undergoes when it is subject to temperatures near absolute zero, minus 459.67 degrees Fahrenheit, as they seek to develop a new generation of quantum computers.⁹⁶

In archaeology, the first synthetic pigments discovered to date in paint were those used on the terracotta warriors in the Qin First Emperor's tomb. The First Emperor's artisans used Han purple ($\text{BaCu}_2\text{Si}_2\text{O}_6$) for purple; azurite was used for blue.⁹⁷ Synthetic blue pigments in paint were first discovered on figures from Han sites.⁹⁸ In the pit excavated from the Xiangshan mountain tomb discussed previously, three synthetic blues or purples were discovered: Han purple, Han Blue ($\text{BaCuSi}_4\text{O}_{10}$), and another blue synthetic pigment with the chemical composition $\text{BaCu}_2\text{Si}_2\text{O}_7$, which outside of Xiangshan has only been discovered on figurines from the early Western Han Weishan 危山 tomb in Zhangqiu 章丘, discussed in chapter 3.⁹⁹

The enormous effort expended by the Chinese to synthesize purple pigment reflects a need for a purple color to depict what figurines were wearing in the way of textiles. Archaeologists believe that synthetic purple paint itself became a marker of status during the Han. Synthetic paint was used on the burial ceramics of high-ranking individuals such as kings, emperors, and important officials, including for coloring the Weishan and Shizishan 獅子山 terracotta armies, the Beidongshan 北洞山 guards, and the murals created for the Western Han Changle 長樂 palace.¹⁰⁰

CONCLUSION

The case of Qi's purple textile industry demonstrates the way local kingdoms preserved and developed local regional industries. In the case of Qi, the region became known for its purple textiles, likely due to its position near the sea. As this study has shown, the positioning of Liu family kings in certain Shandong locales during the early Western Han benefited the development of local industries and, at the same time, increased their marketability and prominence empirewide. Because Qi's textiles incited demand in the capital, Emperor Wu eventually took over the industry. However, this profited neither the local area nor the imperial government.

The popularity of purple silk produced in Qi also likely contributed to the rise of purple as the most exalted color in the Chinese color pantheon

by the mid-Western Han. As in other ancient societies, it is likely that the particular way these purple textiles were produced in ancient China contributed to purple's role as a marker of rank. The popularity of purple textiles and their exalted status would even lead Han-dynasty Daoists to adopt purple to signify the pole star and the residence of Taiyi, one of their highest deities.

Without further scientific investigation, we cannot definitively determine whether shellfish purple dye was utilized in early China. However, historical sources record that expensive and "stinky" purple fabrics were produced in a coastal province, providing strong evidence that Qi silks may have been dyed with a dye extracted from mollusks. It is the author's hope that further testing will be done in this area, as has already been done with positive results in Japan. If evidence proves it so, then we might be able to say that shellfish dye contributed, as it did elsewhere, to making purple the color of high rank and prestige in China.

Conclusion

The field of Western Han art and archaeology has received increasing attention in recent years thanks to the rich profusion of stunning new works unearthed from tombs. The most spectacular finds have been unearthed from kings' tombs, of which more than seventy-five have been excavated to date. By examining five major genres of art and architecture associated with early Western Han tombs, this book offers several important conclusions.

First, this project has underscored the significant degree to which tombs and funerary art functioned as important vehicles of political expression in early China. In contrast to other ancient societies, in which elites communicated their status by commissioning honorary statues to be displayed in public spaces or circulating coins bearing their images, high elites in China's early empires relied heavily on their tombs, which they prepared during their lifetimes. This study has first of all proposed that sites like the tomb of the First Emperor of Qin, by virtue of both the vast numbers of people involved in their creation and the anchoring locales, which were filled with elites, functioned as sites of spectacle. As the emperor gathered materials and laborers from all over the empire to complete his grand project, word of his endeavor likewise spread far beyond the capital region.

What is crucial in my study is that the use of a tomb to express a ruler's power over the people—the tactic assumed by the First Emperor of Qin—was an approach that was no longer tenable in the political environment of the

early Han. The Qin dynasty was replaced only fifteen years after its founding because of the excessive demands that it made on the people. Aware of the role that the Qin's harshness played in its demise, the Han rulers carefully considered the impact of their tombs on the population. A major impulse of several kings and emperors of the early Western Han was to construct a tomb that was far less grand than what they were "entitled to" based on their status, simply in order to secure the people's favor. Emperor Wen's Baling tomb, as presented in chapter 2, was designed to present the emperor as a benevolent ruler who refused to use the people's labor for his personal monument. At the same time, the Han kings, like their emperors, also sought to avoid overextending the people in the construction of their tombs and so utilized a smaller scale than the Qin had done for a range of tomb components, from the mounds to the figurines and objects buried inside.

Although the Han rulers, both emperors and kings, decreased the number of laborers requisitioned for the construction of their tombs, the tombs still functioned as sites of political spectacle. They simply had different goals in mind. Specifically, Han rulers used their tombs to persuade the population and other elites of their political legitimacy. In the environment of the early Han, it was widely believed that as soon as an emperor proved himself unfit for the position, he could be replaced. Since the Han was founded by a family with peasant origins, the early Han court labored to prove their legitimacy so as to stabilize their power in the empire. In this context, the statesman Jia Yi firmly advocated that the imperial court begin to use sumptuary laws to make the empire's hierarchies seem more natural to the population. Around this time, perhaps in response to Jia Yi's overtures, the imperial court began to heavily emphasize jade pendants as a signifier of status and to use jade suits in imperial and royal funerals.

As argued in chapter 4, jade suits represented the sumptuary tightrope that elites in the Western Han were forced to walk, by nature of the political environment in which they ruled. Jade suits were popular among Han elites for obvious reasons. Jade was rare and difficult to obtain, and jade suits required specialized workshops to manufacture, so they were not easy for those outside of the imperial house to obtain. Some also believed that jade could preserve the body, imbuing bodies clothed in jade suits with a supernatural quality. However, I have argued that the popularity of jade in Han China, and the reason that ruling elites of the Liu family were less reserved about utilizing the medium, was due to jade's strong connection with morality and benevolence. Jade's association with these qualities lessened the

degree to which such suits were perceived as an overt sign of luxury and made the form more acceptable to elites who were conscious of their political image. Elites in the early Han needed to be careful that their funerary expressions did not subvert their professed ideology.

THE KINGS AND THE COURT DURING THE WESTERN HAN

A second contribution of this book is its reconceptualization of the relationship between the imperial court and the kings during the Western Han. In the past, this relationship has often been characterized as one of top-down influence, with the imperial court portrayed as the originators of artistic trends and the kings as imitators. Using material evidence, this study has instead argued that the kings were neither stereotypical puppets of the imperial throne, who slavishly followed the court's precedent, nor all merely aggressors who challenged the court's dominance. Instead, the kings were critical links between the imperial culture of the central court and the local culture of the provinces. Their negotiation of these two environments led to the innovative blending of genres of imperial art with local traditions and materials.

The specific forms that emerged during this time become understandable only when we consider two strands of artistic production—the local and the imperial—and how they blended together in unique and specific ways in the workshops of the kingdoms of the early Western Han. For example, the mountain tomb developed for Emperor Wen at Baling, as argued in chapter 2, may have been little more than a standard earthen vertical pit tomb positioned on or near a mountain. The full development of this form came later, after the kings built mountain tombs in their own kingdoms that were full, palatial grotto tombs, carved horizontally into the mountain rock, with numerous rooms, columns, drainage systems, bathing areas, and toilets, as well as subsidiary structures. These sites conveyed the aspirations of the kings to build unique sites that were nonetheless connected with a type of burial pursued in the capital.

As the kings developed architectural works and objects that increasingly rivaled those of the capital, emperors would often initiate new forms in those same genres to distinguish their imperial products from those of the kings. The new “clothed” form of terracotta figurine, for example, was produced by the imperial court and utilized principally in burials in the capital region to distinguish those burials from ones produced elsewhere. Similarly, following

the Seven Kingdoms Revolt, the court, under Emperor Jing, placed restrictions on kings' tombs, preventing them from commissioning commanding edifices that might rival those produced in the capital.

In this context, the kingdom of Qi's textiles, documented in chapter 6, exemplify the limits to which the imperial court's power could extend. When a local kingdom supported and maintained an industry in its territory that was highly profitable and incited the envy of the court, that industry could not always be easily replicated in the capital. In the case of Qi, its textile industry was tied to its capital city of Linzi by environmental conditions—local materials, workers with a generational history in the textile industry, and access to the sea. The imperial court had no choice but to take over Qi's workshops directly, likely doing so when the king of Qi died without heir and Qi reverted to become a government-controlled commandery. When this proved to be more expensive than the imperial court had anticipated, the workshops were returned to Qi, only to be reacquired by the court later as the imperial capital debated whether the exorbitant expenses associated with running them were worth control over the silk textiles they produced.

THE KINGS AND LOCAL CONTEXTS

A third contribution of the book is how it documents the way kings' tombs not only communicated the relationship between the kings and the imperial court in the context of funerary art and architecture, but also how those tombs expressed the kings' relationships with other elites in the empire. Chapter 3, for example, explored how the finely painted warriors of the Han were designed to emphasize the pomp and sophistication of the kings' local courts and to highlight the kings' cavalry troops, which had become the most important element in the kings' armies. Chapter 5 also discussed how the Shiyuan murals displayed the king of Liang's connection with southern Chinese artistic and political culture, a culture that emphasized the notion of rule by nonaction and the achievement of transcendence through self-cultivation. The kings, in other words, were embedded in a complex matrix of relations with the imperial court, local peers, regional elites, and the population. Their funerary expressions negotiated these relationships in ways that were perceived as advantageous for individual kings and the kingdoms they represented.

ART AND MATERIALITY

A fourth contribution is a relatively new model for approaching the study of funerary art. In the past, funerary objects buried in early Chinese tombs have been interpreted from a semiotic perspective, considering their symbolic value in the context of the tomb. This study has demonstrated that by considering the funerary works as products of manufacture, rather than as abstract, symbolic concepts, we can obtain a fuller picture of the impact of such works at the time they were produced. By utilizing a materials-based approach, this study has arrived at several conclusions.

First, it has proposed that terracotta warriors during the early Han were not reduced in size from their Qin predecessors because of a loss of artistic talent during the Han, but out of consideration for political optics, and because the reduced scale was better suited to the subjects the kings desired to depict. The Han kings were especially concerned with highlighting their cavalry troops. Miniaturization enabled them to display these figures prominently in their assemblages. The smaller scale also enabled the kings to focus more on painted rather than sculpted ornamentation, which followed a general emphasis on the popular uses of bright, polychrome painting in the early Han period.

The method of approaching artworks as products of manufacture also strongly informed our analysis of jade suits and purple textiles. Chapter 4 looked at jades literally under a microscope in order to highlight the considerable differences in the material used and the methods by which the suits were manufactured. In the case of purple textiles, a consideration of the high position given to purple textiles in archaeological contexts, as well as in textual sources, led us to propose that purple textiles may have assumed the same high status in early China as they enjoyed in the ancient Mediterranean, because early workshops utilized shellfish dyes.

Finally, the emphasis on design and manufacture also informed our discussion of the Shiyuan murals. In this chapter, we considered how approaching the murals as ornamental works can help us understand their design. Although the murals featured images of mountains, immortals, and the directional animals, these need not be read as serving a literal religious function; instead, they served the purpose of affiliating the patron with a broader, regional elite culture for which the achievement of transcendence was a central goal. Ornament, it was proposed, also served practical functions

for the surface in which it was embedded, emphasizing and de-emphasizing certain places on the object (or on a wall) and, in the case of Shiyuan, creating new spaces defined by surface ornamentation rather than by discrete architectural features.

POLITICAL STRUCTURES

Finally, this book has problematized the common modern perspective that sees the highly centralized administration of the mid-to late Western Han as the best form of government it could pursue. To the contrary, I have contended that the diversity and innovation we observe in the early part of the Western Han can be connected with the freedoms enjoyed by local elites up through the reign of Emperor Wen. Unfortunately, this period of a relatively milder imperial administration was short-lived. Under the succeeding reigns of Emperor Jing and Emperor Wu, the imperial court grew stronger, weakened the kings, and exerted stronger control over art production by monopolizing workshops and reducing the independence of local areas. This would contribute to a broad homogenization in art styles across the empire.

Overall, this study has demonstrated that the early Western Han kings were key patrons of art and played a critical role in the formation of the major genres of Chinese funerary art. The early Han empire was not a cultural empire, as has often been suggested, in which expressions of that culture were principally centered in the capital region. Through an analysis of new archaeological data and texts, the present work has shown that, to the contrary, the kings and the specific traditions and localities they represented played a critical role in developing and diversifying early Han art through the kings' roles as competitors with the imperial house in that larger world of art, its materiality, and especially the funerary practices and rites that were required of all elites.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所 and Hebei sheng wenwu guanli chu 河北省文物管理處, *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao* 滿城漢墓發掘報告 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), 17–23, 224–227; plates 9–12, 157–158.
2. These recent exhibitions include James C. S. Lin, *The Search for Immortality: Tomb Treasures of Han China* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2012); Zhixin Jason Sun and Hsing I-tien, *Age of Empires: Art of the Qin and Han Dynasties* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2017); Jay Xu, ed., *Tomb Treasures: New Discoveries from China's Han Dynasty* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 2017); Li Yinde, *Dreams of the Kings: A Jade Suit for Eternity, Treasures of the Han Dynasty from Xuzhou*, ed. Willow Weilan Hai (Nanjing: Jiangsu fenghuang meishu chubanshe, 2017).
3. Li Feng, *Early China: A Social and Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 142.
4. D. C. Lau 劉殿爵 and Fong Ching Chen 陳方正, *Mengzi zhuzi suoyin* 孟子逐字索引 [A concordance to the Mengzi] (Xianggang: Shangwu yin shuguan, 1995), 2.8/11/9–16.
5. According to the Mencius, Heaven selects the next ruler based on his conduct of affairs and his treatment of the people. Thus, he declared, “Heaven sees as the people see and Heaven hears as the people hear” (天視自我民視，天聽自我民聽). Lau, *Mengzi zhuzi suoyin*, 9.5/49/1. For an extended discussion, see Wei-ming Tu, *Way, Learning, and Politics: Essays on the Confucian Intellectual* (Albany: State University of New York, 1993), 6.
6. Xunzi 荀子 also famously proclaimed that it was unjust to remove a king, but acceptable to remove a detested villain. In his view, because despotic rulers were

not kings but villians, they could be justifiably removed. See Liang Qixiong 梁啟雄, *Xunzi jianshi* 荀子簡釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 18.235–236. Han Feizi argued that a ruler should be paranoid of his ministers because the threat of them committing regicide was great. Wang Xianshen 王先慎, ed., *Han Feizi jijie* 韓非子集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 2.8.49–51; Yuri Pines, *Envisioning Eternal Empire: Chinese Political Thought of the Warring States Era* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 100.

7. Yuri Pines, “Between Merit and Pedigree: Evolution of the Concept of ‘Elevating the Worthy’ in Pre-Imperial China,” in *The East Asian Challenge for Democracy: Political Meritocracy in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Daniel A. Bell and Chenyang Li (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 164–165.
8. Pines, “Between Merit and Pedigree,” 165–179. Pines, “The Rise of the *Shi*,” in *Envisioning Eternal Empire*, 115–135.
9. Robin D. S. Yates, “The Rise of Qin and the Military Conquest of the Warring States,” in *The First Emperor: China’s Terracotta Army*, ed. Jane Portal (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 34; Pines, “Between Merit and Pedigree,” 185–186; Michael Loewe, “Social Distinctions, Groups and Privileges,” in *China’s Early Empires: A Re-Appraisal*, ed. Michael Nylan and Michael Loewe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 297–298.
10. The First Emperor’s ministers, for example, declare that the First Emperor required a title that was distinct from all past rulers because of the uniqueness of his accomplishments, stating, “But now Your Majesty has raised troops to punish the evil and remiss, brought peace to the world, made the entire area within the seas into provinces and districts, and insured that laws and rulings shall proceed from a single authority. From highest antiquity to the present, such a thing has never occurred before, nor could the Five Emperors equal it.” Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Qin Dynasty*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 42–43; *Shiji*, 6.236. He inscribed a similar statement on a stele positioned at Langya 琅邪 Terrace: “[The First Emperor’s] military achievements overshadow the Five Emperors. His benevolence extends even to the oxen and horses. There is no one who is not touched by the emperor’s benevolence. Each is at peace in his domain” (功蓋五帝，澤及牛馬。莫不受德，各安其宇). *Shiji*, 6.245. For an analysis of the First Emperor of Qin’s steles, see Martin Kern, *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch’in Shih-Huang: Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Imperial Representation* (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 2000).
11. *Shiji*, 7.296; *Hanshu*, 31.1796. According to the histories, Liu Bang also expressed great admiration for the First Emperor, remarking one time when he saw him in the capital while on corvée labor duty, “Wow! A great man ought truly to be like this!” (嗟乎，大丈夫當如此也!) *Shiji*, 8.344; for a similar passage, see *Hanshu*, 1.3.
12. For the agency of objects, see Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Jane Bennett, *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010); Bjørnar Olsen, *In Defense of Things: Archaeology and the Ontology of Objects* (Lanham, Md.: AltaMira Press, 2013).
13. By the mid-Western Han, the histories indicate that the Chinese were aware that foreign rulers placed their busts on coins. Han envoys traveled to Anxi 安息 (Parthia) and reported back that the people of Anxi used coins that bore an image of their

ruler's face. *Shiji*, 123.3162; Michael Nylan, "Afterword: New Perspectives and Avenues for Future Research," in *Chang'an 26 BCE: An Augustan Age in China*, ed. Michael Nylan and Griet Vankeerberghen (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), 507.

14. This study builds on important work in this area by Martin Powers. Martin J. Powers, *Art and Political Expression in Early China* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992).
15. Several authors discuss the need to combine a materials-based approach with traditional art historical methodologies: Michael Yonan, "Materiality as Periphery," *Visual Resources* 35, nos. 3–4 (2018), 200–216; Michael Yonan, "Toward a Fusion of Art History and Material Culture Studies," *West 86th: A Journal of Decorative Arts, Design History, and Material Culture* 18, no. 2 (2011): 232–248; Ann-Sophie Lehmann, "The Matter of the Medium: Some Tools for an Art-Theoretical Interpretation of Materials," in *The Matter of Art: Materials, Practices, Cultural Logics, c. 1250–1750*, ed. Christy Anderson, Anne Dunlop, and Pamela H. Smith (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 1–41.
16. Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance Germany* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1980). For the material turn, see Jennifer L. Roberts, "Things: Material Turn, Transnational Turn," *American Art* 31, no. 2 (2017): 64–69; James Elkins, "On Some Limits of Materiality in Art History," *31: Das Magazin des Instituts für Theorie [Zürich]* 12 (2008): 25–30.
17. Robert Bagley, "Anyang Mold-Making and the Decorated Model," *Artibus Asiae* 69 (2009): 39–90; Robert Bagley, "Shang Ritual Bronzes: Casting Technique and Vessel Design," *Archives of Asian Art* 43 (1990): 6–20; Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000); Anthony J. Barbieri-Low, *Artisans in Early Imperial China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007).
18. Michael Cole, "The Cult of Materials," in *Renouveau et Invention, La Sculpture à Travers Ses Histoires Matérielles*, ed. Martina Droth and Sébastien Clerbois (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011), 5–6. For an overview of Aristotle's hylomorphic paradigm, see David Summers, "Form and Gender," *New Literary History* 24, no. 2 (1993): 243–271; Lehmann, "The Matter of the Medium," 22.
19. Wu Hung, *The Art of Yellow Springs: Understanding Chinese Tombs* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 12.
20. For affordances, see James J. Gibson, "The Theory of Affordances," in *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1986), 127–143.
21. Roberts, "Things: Material Turn, Transnational Turn," 66. See also Michael Polanyi, "Skills," in *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Postcritical Philosophy* (1958; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 49–65; Michael Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* (1966; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
22. Michael Cole, "The Cult of Materials," in *Renouveau et Invention, La Sculpture à Travers Ses Histoires Matérielles*, ed. Martina Droth and Sébastien Clerbois (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2011), 6–7. As Cole points out, however, there is a "certain willful blindness" to assuming that focusing on materiality always represents a shift away from semiotics. After all, one of the first questions that scholars who focus on materials often pose is "what do materials mean?" This, in turn, leads them to pivot back to old texts to find the answer.

23. Although it is difficult to reconstruct a detailed biography of individual objects buried in funerary contexts, it nonetheless can be helpful to consider their full life cycle and the role they played from their creation to their burial in a tomb. A recent work in this area is Francis Allard, Yan Sun, and Kathryn M. Linduff, *Memory and Agency in Ancient China: Shaping the Life History of Objects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). For more on object biographies, see Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986). A useful summary of recent works that assume an object biography approach is given in Janet Hoskins, "Agency, Biography and Objects," in *Handbook of Material Culture*, ed. Christopher Tilley, Webb Keane, Susanne Küchler, Michael Rowlands, and Patricia Spyer (London: Sage, 2006), 78–81.
24. Cole, "The Cult of Materials," 4.
25. Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 1–27.

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1. Shigeo Kamada 鎌田重雄, 1909–1969, *Shin, Kan seiji seido no kenkyū* 秦漢政治制度の研究 (Tōkyō: Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, 1962); Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Michael Loewe, *The Men Who Governed Han China, Companion to A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 357–400; Griet Vankeerberghen, *The Huainanzi and Liu An's Claim to Moral Authority* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001); Tang Xiejun 唐燮軍 and Weng Gongyu 翁公羽, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan: Xi Han de wangguo wenti ji qi jiejue* 從分治到集權：西漢的王國問題及其解決 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2012).
2. Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145–ca. 86 BCE), *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959) [hereafter *Shiji*], 6.238–239, 17.802.
3. Judson B. Murray, "The Liu Clan's 'Flesh and Bone': The Foundation of Liu An's Vision of Empire," in *The Huainanzi and Textual Production in Early China*, ed. Sarah A. Queen and Michael J. Puett (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 304.
4. Mark Edward Lewis, *Early Chinese Empires—Qin and Han* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 20.
5. Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times*, 105.
6. Lao Gan 勞榦, *Qin Han shi* 秦漢史 (Taibei: Zhonghua wenhua daxue chubanbu yinxing, 1980), 30.
7. Michael Loewe, *The Men Who Governed Han China*, 360; Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE), *Hanshu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962) [hereafter *Hanshu*], 19.741, n. 1; Cai Yong 蔡邕 (ca. 133–192 CE), *Duduan* 獨斷, *Baojing tang congshu* 抱經堂叢書 51 (Beijing: Zhili shuju, 1923), 61.
8. *Shiji*, 7.315–317, 8.370. More recently, William Nienhauser has offered another explanation of Xiang Yu's invention of the term, "collected lord–king" (*zhuhou wang*), arguing that the term "was originally used to indicate those kings appointed by Hsiang Yu as opposed to the kings descended from the feudal states which Chi'in eliminated." Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *The Grand Scribe's Records: Volume 2, The Basic Annals of Han China*, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 49, n. 331. The *Shiji*, however, does not seem to have made this distinction. After Xiang Yu's redivision of the empire, both the former kings' and Xiang Yu's

recently crowned generals were all referred to as kings, with the exclusion of King Huai 懷 of Chu, the king that Xiang Yu had previously served under as general. King Huai received the new title of Emperor Yi 義帝. *Shiji*, 7.315.

9. *Shiji*, 8.379. Translation adapted from Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *The Grand Scribe's Records: Volume 2, The Basic Annals of Han China*, 66.
10. Lao Gan 勞幹, “Liang Han junguo mianji zhi heji ji koushu zengjian zhi tuice 兩漢郡國面積之估計及口數增減之推測,” in *Lao Gan xueshu lunwen ji: jiabian* 勞幹學術論文集: 甲編 (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1976), 37–62. Tang and Weng, however, estimate that the imperial house may have controlled a higher percentage of the population, with the central government controlling eight million people and the kings controlling seven million. Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 36–37.
11. *Shiji*, 8.382–383; *Hanshu*, 1.59.
12. *Shiji*, 8.383; *Hanshu*, 1.59.
13. *Shiji*, 8.381, 93.2637.
14. *Shiji*, 93.2637.
15. *Shiji*, 8.384, 51.1994; *Hanshu*, 1.60, 35.1900.
16. *Shiji*, 8.384, 51.1994; *Hanshu*, 1.60–61.
17. *Hanshu*, 1.61. Liu Xi is also referred to as Liu Zhong 劉仲. *Shiji*, 8.385. In addition to these, Liu Bang should have positioned the son of his oldest brother Bo 伯. Bo had passed away several years prior, and Liu Bang disliked his brother's widow because on one occasion when he was hiding from the law (before he became emperor), she had refused to give meat stew to him and his retainers, scraping the bottom of the pot with a ladle to suggest that no stew remained. Because of this incident, Emperor Gaozu decided not to enoble her son. His father spoke to him about it, and Liu Bang responded, “It is not that I forgot to give him a position. Because of his mother, he is not honorable” (某非敢忘封之也，為其母不長者). His father then requested that the emperor to present his nephew with territory regardless of his sister-in-law's actions. The emperor ennobled him with the title “Marquis of Withholding the Stew” (*gengxie hou* 羹頤侯). *Hanshu*, 36.1922. A similar passage can be found in *Shiji*, 50.1987.
18. *Shiji*, 51.1994.
19. *Hanshu*, 1.63.
20. *Hanshu*, 1.63.
21. *Shiji*, 51.1994.
22. *Hanshu*, 34.1892.
23. For the Western Zhou administration, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou 1045–771 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Gideon Shelach-Lavi, *The Archaeology of Early China: From Prehistory to the Han Dynasty* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 265–267.
24. Anthony J. Barbieri-Low and Robin D. S. Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China: A Study with Critical Edition and Translation of the Legal Texts from Zhangjiashan Tomb No. 247* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 2:388–389.
25. Barbieri-Low and Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China*, 2:564–565. Although the Zhangjiashan statutes do not specify whom the term *zhuhou* referenced, these laws were unlikely to have been established out of fear of the early Liu-family kings. During the first two emperors' reigns, the Liu-family kings did not pose a significant threat to the throne. The majority of kings were children who

ruled with the assistance of their court-appointed ministers. Those who were not children were family members appointed by the founding emperor himself, rendering their relationship to the throne closer than that of later kings and certainly closer than the general-kings.

26. *Shiji*, 99.2720.
27. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 240; *Shiji*, 99.2719–2720.
28. Adapted from Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 240; *Shiji*, 99.2719–2720.
29. For more information about passports, authorization tallies, and transit documents, see Barbieri-Low and Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China*, 2:1115–1116.
30. See the case of the eloping lovers from Qi recorded in the Zhangjiashan statutes. Barbieri-Low and Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China*, 2:1195–1199. Barbieri-Low and Yates take this passage as an indication that the “subjects of the Qi Regional Lordship were not even considered subjects of the Han.” I disagree with them on this point, however. The case does not indicate that the kingdoms were autonomous, but only that the Han had to establish regulations to prevent members of the former ruling houses from returning to their home regions after they had been forcibly moved to the capital. A member of the former ruling house of Qi could not be smuggled out of the capital to be married because this might enable that person to re-assert power in a region formerly controlled by his or her family.
31. *Shiji*, 89.2583. Liu Bang also appointed Xiao He 蕭何 as chief minister when he was king of Han (before Liu created the Han as an imperial dynasty). *Shiji*, 53.2014; Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 21.
32. Concerning the appointment of the chief minister by the imperial court, the *Shiji* states: “In the time of Emperor Gaozu, the *zuhou* not only received all the taxes from their domains, but were allowed to appoint and dismiss their officials from the rank of governor of the capital area (*neishi*) on down; only their prime ministers were selected for them by the Han court and given gold seals to indicate their authority.” Translation adapted from Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 399; *Shiji*, 59.2104. A similar statement appears in *Hanshu*, 38.2002.
33. Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 118.
34. *Shiji*, 96.2678; *Hanshu*, 42.2096.
35. *Shiji*, 52.2004.
36. According to the *Hanshu*, “The palaces and the hundred officials [in the kingdoms] were the same as in the capital city” (宮室百官同制京師). *Hanshu*, 14.394.
37. *Hanshu*, 19.741.
38. Wu Rongceng 吳榮曾, “Xi Han wangguo guanzhi kaoshi 西漢王國官制考實,” *Beijing daxue xuebao* 北京大學學報, no. 3 (1990): 109–122.
39. This is indicated by a letter sent by Bo Zhao 薄昭, Emperor Wen’s uncle, to the king of Huainan, which indicates that by Emperor Wen’s reign, it was unlawful for a king to appoint 2,000 picul officials. In that letter, Bo makes the following accusation: “According to Han law, when there is a vacancy among the 2,000 picul officials, it is stated that the Han [court] will fill the position. You, great king, expelled those positioned by the Han court and requested to appoint your own chief minister and 2,000 picul officials” (漢法，二千石缺，輒言漢補，大王逐漢所置，而請自置相、二千石). Based on this evidence, scholars believe that the kings lost the ability to

appoint 2,000 picul officials prior to Emperor Wen's reign. *Hanshu*, 44.2137; Zhang Heyao 張鶴耀, "Jianlun 'qi guo zhi luan' hou Xi Han zhuhou guo guanzhi yanbian de tezheng 簡論‘七國之亂’後西漢諸侯國官制演變的特徵," *Qi lu xuekan 齊魯學刊*, no. 1 (2015): 52; Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 124.

40. Chen Suzhen, for example, argues, "Imperial laws of the early Han still were not laws that were applied universally throughout the empire; they were only applicable in areas directly administered by the court. Cases where [imperial law] intervened in kingdom affairs were limited to cases where kings and their relatives committed criminal acts, or for severe crimes such as when ordinary officials or people revolted, etc. . . . the majority of regular affairs in the kingdoms and their regulatory systems, were likely controlled by each kingdom's laws." Chen Suzhen 陳蘇鎮, "Han chu wangguo zhidu kaoshu 漢初王國製度考述," *Zhongguo shi yanjiu 中國史研究*, no. 3 (2004): 35. Tang and Weng agree with Chen's perspective. See Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 88.

41. Liang Anhe 梁安合, "Ye tan Xi Han chuqi zhuhou wangguo de falu zhidu—yu Chen Suzhen xiansheng shangque 也談西漢初期諸侯王國的法律制度—與陳蘇鎮先生商榷," *Xianyang shifan xueyuan xuebao 咸陽師範學院學報* 21, no. 1 (2006): 3.

42. *Shiji*, 9.397.

43. *Shiji*, 9.403.

44. *Shiji*, 118.3076; Sima Ch'ien, *The Grand Scribe's Records: Volume 10, The Memoirs of Han China, Part 3*, 166–167; Liang Anhe, "Ye tan Xi Han chuqi zhuhou wangguo de falu zhidu," 3.

45. Yan Zhenyi 閻振益 and Zhong Xia 鍾夏, eds., *Xinshu jiaozhu* 新書校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), 3.120. It should be noted that in the Zhangjiashan materials, none of the appealed cases sprang from the kingdoms. It might be possible that the kingdoms operated under the Han statutes but that their appeals went no further up than the local king, rather than to the commandant of the court. For the Zhangjiashan materials, see Barbieri-Low and Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China*.

46. Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 89–90, 165. For more on the split purse system, see Katō Shigeshi 加藤繁, *Shina keizaishi kōshō 支那經濟史考證* (Tōkyō: Tōyō Bunko, 1952), 1:35–156. For an overview of taxes levied in the Han, see Ma Tao and Li Wei, "The Monetary and Fiscal System of the Western and Eastern Han Dynasties," in *The Political Economy of the Han Dynasty and Its Legacy*, ed. Cheng Lin, Terry Peach, and Wang Fang (London and New York: Routledge, 2019), 76–79; Twitchett and Loewe, *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 1, 595–607.

47. *Hanshu*, 24.1127.

48. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 394; *Shiji*, 59.2098.

49. *Shiji*, 106.2822.

50. Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 89–90.

51. For the rate at the beginning of the Han, see *Hanshu*, 24.1127; Nancy Lee Swann, *Food & Money in Ancient China: The Earliest Economic History of China to A.D. 25: Han Shu 24 with Related Texts, Han Shu 91 and Shih-Chi 129* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950), 149–150. The *Hanshu* (4.118) records that Emperor Wen reduced the land tax by half in 168 BCE. This edict is not recorded in the *Shiji*. Both the *Shiji* (10.428) and the *Hanshu* (24.1135) indicate that Emperor Wen abolished the land tax in 167 BCE, although scholars disagree whether it was abolished only that

year or abolished until 156 BCE (when Emperor Jing levied the land tax at a rate of one-thirtieth of the yield).

The following scholars believe that the tax was abolished until 156 BCE: Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, eds., *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1: The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 BC-AD 220*, 1st ed., 3rd impression (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 596–597; Hsu Cho-yun, *Han Agriculture: The Formation of Early Chinese Agrarian Economy (208 B.C.-A.D. 220)* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1980), 72.

These scholars have proposed that it was abolished for only one year: Ceng Weihua 曾維華, “Ye tan Han Wendi mianchu zushui de niandai wenti—yu Huang Jinyan tongzhi shangque 也談漢文帝免除租稅的年代問題—與黃今言同志商榷,” *Shanghai shifan daxue xuebao* 上海師範大學學報, no. 3 (1982): 94–97; Huang Jinyan 黃今言, “Handai tianshui zhengke zhong ruogan wenti de kaocha 漢代田稅徵課中若干問題的考察,” *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究, no. 2 (1981): 23–27. See Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *The Grand Scribe's Records: Volume 2, The Basic Annals of Han China*, 172, n. 195.

52. *Shiji*, 11.439; *Hanshu*, 5.140, 24.1135; Twitchett and Loewe, *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1*, 597.
53. The *Han yizhu* 漢儀注 states that adults paid 120 *qian* (equivalent to one *suan* 箕) and minors, 20 *qian* 錢. Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445 CE), *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964) [hereafter *Hou Hanshu*], 10.74, n. 2. For more on the *hufu*, *gengfu*, and property taxes, see Ma Tao and Li, “The Monetary and Fiscal System of the Western and Eastern Han Dynasties,” 77; Twitchett and Loewe, *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 1*, 598–599.
54. An edict presented in Emperor Gaozu's eleventh year stated, “We desire to reduce taxes substantially. Currently, the donations are not systemized. Some officials levy heavy taxes to use for the donation, while the *zhuhou wang* levy even more, and the people are hard-pressed by it. I order the *zhuhou wang* and the *tonghou* to come to court each tenth month to present their offerings. Each province will also [give a donation] based on the number of households in their territory. Each year, the payment will be 63 *qian* per person, which will be presented as the annual donation” (欲省賦甚。今獻未有程, 吏或多賦以為獻, 而諸侯王尤多, 民疾之。令諸侯王、通侯常以十月朝獻, 及郡各以其口數率, 人歲六十三錢, 以給獻費). *Hanshu*, 1.70; Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzi dao jiquan*, 99.
55. According to the *Han jiu yi* 漢舊儀, a statute referred to as the *Zhou jin lü* 酉金律 required kings and nobles to present a specific quantity of gold each year based on the number of households in their territory. It remains unclear when the system of presenting gold began. Loewe suggests that it may have begun during Emperor Wen's reign. It certainly was in place by 112 BCE, because in that year a large number of nobles were deprived of their honors because they presented gold that was lesser in either quantity or quality than it should have been. *Shiji*, 19.1017, 30.1439; *Hanshu*, 6.187, n. 1, 17.638, 24.1173; Michael Loewe, *The Men Who Governed Han China*, 294, 381; A. F. P. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1955), 38; Homer H. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1944), 2:80–81 and 126ff.
56. Some scholars have argued that the donation was equivalent to the *suanfu* or was a portion of the *suanfu*. Others, such as Tang and Weng, believe it was an additional tax levied on top of the *suanfu*. Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzi dao jiquan*, 165.

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57. Mark Edward Lewis, "The Han Abolition of Universal Military Service," in *Warfare in Chinese History* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 34–36; Twitchett and Loewe, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 1, 599.

58. *Hanshu*, 48.2261.

59. Before this law went into effect, the kings had used two titles for their chief ministers: some used the title of chief minister of the state (*xiangguo*), which was conventional in the Warring States, and others used chief minister (*chengxiang*), a title used under the Qin. By declaring that the title of chief minister (*chengxiang*) would be used in the kingdoms, the imperial court standardized the title of the kings' chief ministers and distinguished them from the chief ministers of the imperial court, who were to be referred to as chief minister of the state (*xiangguo*).

Evidence for this shift in the official titles of chief ministers comes from two passages in the *Shiji*. In the first passage, the text states, "In the first year of Emperor Xiao Hui's reign (194 BCE), he made a law abolishing [the title of] chief minister of state (*xiangguo*) in the kingdoms of the *zhuhou*. He changed the title of [Cao] Can to Chief Minister of Qi" (孝惠帝元年，除諸侯相國法，更以參為齊丞相). *Shiji*, 54.2028; *Hanshu*, 39.2018.

A second passage states, "In the fourth month [of 197, Fu Kuan] . . . in his capacity as chief minister (*xiangguo*) of the state [of Qi] attacked Chen Xi. After one month he was transferred and became Dai's chief minister of state (*xiangguo*) and commander of the border region troops. After two years, he became Dai's chief minister (*chengxiang*) and commander of the border region troops" (四月，.....以相國.....擊豨。一月，徙為代相國，將屯。二歲，為代丞相，將屯). Gou Chengyi argues that Fu Kuan had two titles (chief minister of state and chief minister) due to the official shift in kings' prime ministers' titles that occurred while he was in service. Gou Chengyi 勾承益, "Xi Han qianqi Liu shi zhuhou wang de 'xiang' 西漢前期劉氏諸侯王的‘相’," *Sichuan shifan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 四川師範大學學報 (社會科學版) 29, no. 5 (2002): 107–111; translation adapted from Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *The Grand Scribe's Records: Vol. 8, The Memoirs of Han China, Part 1*, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 267; SJ 98.2708; HS 41.2086.

60. *Hanshu*, 1.68.

61. To create additional kingdoms for her supporters, the kingdoms of Langya 琅邪 and Lü 呂/Jichuan 濟川 were created from the territory of Qi; the new kingdom of Lu 魯 from Chu; and Changshan 常山 from Zhao (table 1.3). She also forced the king of Qi to give Chengyang 城陽 province to her daughter, Princess Lu Yuan 魯元公主, for use as her bath town. Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 119.

62. *Shiji*, 9.406.

63. The king of Qi illicitly took control of his army from his chief minister, Shao Ping 召平, through deceit, causing Shao to commit suicide. Following this, he attacked the nearby kings of Langya and Lü, whose land had been parceled out from Qi by Empress Dowager Lü, regaining control of those areas. The king of Qi paused, however, before marching on the capital when he received instructions from Han general Guan Ying 灌嬰 not to advance his troops until the Lü clan had officially mounted their revolt. Before the king of Qi ever dispatched his troops, Liu Zhang (the king of Qi's brother), General Zhou Bo 周勃, and other officials in the capital captured and executed the remaining members of the Lü clan. The king of Qi was then ordered to disband his troops and return home. *Shiji*, 9.406–407, 52.2001–2004.

64. *Shiji*, 9.410–412.
65. Adapted from Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, trans. Burton Watson, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 285; *Shiji*, 10.413.
66. Adapted from Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 286; *Shiji*, 10.413–414.
67. The assertion that the Han “abolished the harsh government of the Qin” and “simplified the laws” calls into question the authenticity of Song Chang’s speech. The Zhangjiashan legal statutes have revealed that the Han retained most of the Qin laws. It was not until Emperor Wen’s reign that many laws, such as joint accusation and joint punishment as well as the mutilating punishments, were repealed. See *Shiji*, 10.418–419.
68. *Shiji*, 10.419–420; *Hanshu*, 4.111.
69. For Yan and Zhao, see *Hanshu*, 4.110; for Liang, see *Hanshu*, 4.117; for Huaiyang, see *Hanshu*, 17.829.
70. *Hanshu*, 4.110.
71. Zhang Heyao, “Jianlun ‘qi guo zhi luan’ hou Xi Han zhuhou guo,” 53.
72. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, eds., *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 1.46.
73. *Hanshu*, 4.123.
74. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, eds., *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 3.113.
75. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, eds., *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 1.30. The name of Emperor Wen’s temple, *Gucheng miao*, was explained differently by various commentators in the *Hanshu*. The commentator Fu Qian 服虔 (ca. 125–195 CE) argued that it was named this way because the temple was located south of the capital city at Chang’an and accordingly referred to looking back at the capital from this southern location. Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645 CE), however, rejects this reading, citing the fact that the temple name employs the character “成” rather than “城.” Other commentators, such as Ying Shao and Ru Chun, offer other explanations. See *Hanshu*, 4.121, n. 1.
76. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, eds., *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 2.82.
77. Translation adapted from Charles Sanft, “Rituals That Don’t Reach, Punishments That Don’t Impugn: Jia Yi on the Exclusions from Punishment and Ritual,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 125, no. 1 (2005): 34–35; Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, eds., *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 2.79–80.
78. (非獨性異人也，其形勢然矣). Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, eds., *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 1.39.
79. (衆建諸侯而少其力). *Hanshu*, 48.2237.
80. (上下歡親，諸侯順附，故天下咸知陛下之仁). Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, eds., *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 1.67.
81. *Shiji*, 10.423.
82. *Shiji*, 10.423; *Hanshu*, 4.117.
83. *Shiji*, 10.423; *Hanshu*, 4.117. For Empress Dowager Lü’s punishment of Liu You, King You of Zhao, see *Shiji*, 9.403–404.
84. *Shiji*, 10.423; *Hanshu*, 4.117. Later, in 176, he would move Liu Wu to Huaiyang, restoring that kingdom, and recombine Dai and Taiyuan. *Hanshu*, 17.829.
85. Originally, Emperor Wen had not intended to enthrone Liu Xingju because of his association with King Ai of Qi’s bid for the emperorship. However, because Xingju and his brother, Zhang, remained unsatisfied with the reward they had received for their role in unseating the Lü family, Emperor Wen reluctantly detached two provinces from Qi and made Xingju and his brother, Zhang, kings in 178 BCE. Liu Zhang died in 177, passing his position to his son; Liu Xingju revolted unsuccessfully the following year. *Shiji*, 52.2009–2010.

86. *Shiji*, 118.3075; *Hanshu*, 44.2135. For a concise English-language account of the revolt, see Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods, 221 BC-AD 24* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 271–273.
87. *Hanshu*, 4.120.
88. *Hanshu*, 4.122, 48.2263.
89. *Shiji*, 41.2739, 58.3081.
90. *Hanshu*, 48.2260–2261.
91. *Hanshu*, 48.2263.
92. *Hanshu*, 4.127, 48.2264. In the early Han, the Liu clan considered it essential not only that the needs of the founding ancestor (Emperor Gaozu) be met through the sacrifices of his descendants, but also that sacrifices to the heads of branch lineages be maintained by their descendants. As Griet Vankeerberghen has shown, the *Shangshu Dazhuan*, a text of the early imperial period, argues that a king's sons and grandsons should be allowed to maintain an original branch ancestor's land so that they could perform sacrifices to the person who originally received the investiture. Thus, even though one line of the original king positioned in Qi, King Dao-hui (Liu Fei), had died out, positioning all of the king's sons meant that sacrifices to the king by his descendants could continue. Griet Vankeerberghen, "Rulership and Kinship: The Shangshu Dazhuan's Discourse on Lords," *Oriens Extremus* 46 (2007): 92.
93. *Shiji*, 101.2739, 110.3081. Emperor Wen's minister Yuan Ang had recommended that awarding kingships to the king of Huainan's remaining sons would help to ameliorate some of the familial tension that had arisen because of his brother's revolt. *Shiji*, 110.3081.
94. *Shiji*, 17.834.
95. Also given as Wu Zhu 吳著, Cha 差, or Qiang 羌. *Shiji*, 17.838; *Hanshu*, 13.387 34.1894. In addition, Pei Yin 裴駟 (5th c. CE) of the *Shiji jijie* 史記集解, quoting Ru Chun 如淳, states that although the last king of Changsha died without an heir, he actually left behind two sons born to other consorts. These sons were upset that they were not positioned as kings and would later join the Seven Kingdoms Revolt of 154 BCE. *Shiji*, 106.2829, fn 2.
96. Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 163–164. In the first year of Emperor Wen's reign, the kingdoms controlled thirty-six provinces, whereas the central government controlled twenty. By the end, the kingdoms controlled thirty-four, and the central government, twenty-four. Here, it should be noted that the word that I have translated as "province" (jun 郡) above is the same word that is used for "commandery" in Chinese sources. Kingdoms were comprised of several *jun* (which were added and subtracted from the kingdoms by various emperors).
97. The minister, Chao Cuo, alludes to these qualities in a speech that he gave prior to being hired by Emperor Wen as prefect of the heir's household (*taizi jialing* 太子家令). *Hanshu*, 49.2277.
98. *Shiji*, 42.2753; *Hanshu*, 50.2309.
99. *Hanshu*, 35.1904.
100. *Shiji*, 10.419; *Hanshu*, 4.111.
101. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 1.31.
102. Zhang Fuyun 張福運, "Xi Han Wu Chu qiguo zhi luan yuanyin bianxi 西漢吳楚七國之亂原因辨析," *Renwen zazhi* 人文雜誌, no. 5 (2003): 121. Table 1.6 adapted from Zhang's original.
103. *Shiji*, 17.838; *Hanshu*, 13.387, 34.1894.

104. Liu Yu was transferred to Lu 魯 roughly one year later and ruled that kingdom from 154–129 BCE. Liu Fei was also transferred from Runan to Jiangdu 江都 in 153 BCE. He reigned in Jiangdu until 128 BCE. *Shiji*, 17.839.

105. Liu Pengzu would be transferred to Zhao in 152 and would reign there until 93 BCE. *Shiji*, 17.839; Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴, *Xi Han zhengqu dili* 西漢政區地理 (Beijing: Shangwu yin shuguan, 2017), 83. Zhou states that Bohai was retracted during Emperor Wen's reign, but this is not altogether correct. The kingdom of Hejian was directly managed as three directly administered commanderies at the end of Emperor Wen's reign when the emperor did not have a son to place there. Then, the territory was turned into two kingdoms (Hejian and Guangchuan) and one commandery (Bohai) in 155 BCE during Emperor Jing's reign.

106. For the appointment of Liu Fa, see *Shiji*, 17.839, 59.2100. Regarding Guiyang and Wuling, the *Shiji* records, “During the time of Wu and Chu [the Seven Kingdoms Revolt]—before and after the event—some kings had their lands reduced according to what was appropriate. Thus, Yan and Dai lost their provinces on the northern border. Wu, Huainan, and Changsha lost their provinces on the southern border” (吳楚時，前後諸侯或以適削地，是以燕、代無北邊郡，吳、淮南、長沙無南邊郡). *Shiji*, 17.803. It is assumed that Changsha would have been one of the kingdoms that lost its southern provinces before the revolt, since that was the time that a king was repositioned there. Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 203, n. 6.

Some scholars have suggested that Guiyang and Wuling were returned to Changsha in the year 142 BCE, based on an account by Ying Shao in his commentaries on the *Shiji*. According to that account, when the kings went to court in 142, all of the kings were asked to sing and dance. When it came to the king of Changsha, Liu Fa's turn, he “let out his sleeves but only raised his hands slightly. Those around him laughed at his awkward dance. When the sovereign wondered about his [dance], the king [Liu Fa] replied, ‘My kingdom is so small and narrow, I have no room to move around’ The emperor then attached Wuling, Lingling, and Guiyang to his kingdom” (張袖小舉手。左右笑其拙，上怪問之，對曰：『臣國小地狹，不足迴旋。』帝以武陵、零陵、桂陽屬焉). *Shiji*, 59.2100.

In the scholar Zhou Zhenhe's opinion, this passage is anachronistic because at that point, Lingling 零陵 commandery had not yet been removed from Changsha. Also, when territory was added to kingdoms, it was generally added in smaller amounts. He argues that it would have been unconventional for Emperor Jing to increase the king's land by three entire provinces. Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han zhengqu dili*, 130.

107. Zhang Fuyun, “Xi Han Wu Chu qiguo zhi luan yuanyin bianxi,” 122.

108. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 406; *Shiji*, 106.2825; *Hanshu*, 35.1906.

109. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 405; *Shiji*, 106.2823. I do not mean to imply that the king of Wu had completely reconciled with the Han court. Certainly, the histories indicate that he continued to act with arrogance toward the imperial court and allowed criminals to take refuge in his state, refusing to hand them over to the Han authorities. Also, he had amassed considerable wealth by boiling seawater to make salt and minting coins. Nonetheless, as Zhang Fuyun has pointed out, by 155 BCE, the king of Wu was already sixty-two years old and had been in power for forty years, successfully ruling three provinces and fifty-three cities. At that time, not a single revolt launched in Han history had even come close to succeeding, and the king did not have a large army. (According to the *Shiji*, when

the revolt occurred, he dispatched a motley crew of two hundred thousand men between the ages of fourteen and sixty-two to fight. Only with the assistance of the Eastern Yue (*Dongyue* 東越) was he able to field five hundred thousand men.) Thus, although Liu Pi certainly violated Han law and refused to attend court, there is not strong evidence that, left unprovoked, he would have revolted. Zhang Fuyun, “Xi Han Wu Chu qiguo zhi luan yuanyin bianxi,”^{124–125} For the numbers in the king of Wu’s army, see *Shiji* 46.2827–2828.

110. Loewe states that Liu Wu (king of Chu) was “charged with sexual misbehavior, allegedly with Bo Taihou [Empress Dowager Bo (d. 157 BCE)].” Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary*, 366. This is unlikely, however, because these accusations occurred the year that the empress dowager died. I have read the passage similarly to Watson, as indicating that Liu Wu was convicted of having sexual intercourse while in mourning for the empress dowager. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 338; *Shiji*, 50.1988, 106.2825; *Hanshu*, 36.1924.

Also, the *Hanshu* states that the provinces of Donghai and Xue 薛 were removed from Chu. However, this appears to be a conflation of the emperor’s dedications before and after the revolt. After the revolt, Emperor Jing removed Xue province from Chu to revive the kingdom of Lu, which he gave to his son, Liu Yu (r. 154–129 BCE). He also removed the southern half of Pei 沛 province to create Pei commandery. Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han zhengqu dili*, 29.

111. *Shiji*, 106.2825.
 112. *Shiji*, 106.2825; *Hanshu*, 35.1906.
 113. *Shiji*, 106.2825; *Hanshu*, 35.1906.
 114. *Shiji*, 41.2738.
 115. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 408; *Shiji*, 106.2826.
 116. Adapted from Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 408; *Shiji*, 106.2826.
 117. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 408; *Shiji*, 106.2826.
 118. *Shiji*, 106.2827–2828. Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han zhengqu dili*, 68–69. In a letter sent by the king of Wu to the other kings, he indicated that the king of Yan would join the revolt and would lead an army of Hu troops to attack the capital. However, this does not seem to have occurred because the king of Yan did not commit suicide, but died of other causes in 152 BCE.
 119. The king of Huainan’s prime minister went against the king’s commands and defended the city from the rebels (instead of joining them). *Shiji*, 58.3081. The king of Jibei originally planned to join the revolt, but his city walls were not yet complete so his chief of palace attendants (*lang zhongling* 郎中令) kidnapped the king and would not permit him to send out troops to join the rebels. *Shiji*, 106.2827.
 120. *Shiji*, 52.2006, 106.2827.
 121. *Shiji*, 106.2829, fn 2.
 122. *Shiji*, 106.2830–2831.
 123. An exception was the Jiangdu kingdom (created from the former kingdom of Wu), which remained large into Emperor Wu’s reign. Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han zhengqu dili*, 40.
 124. The kingdom of Zhongshan was created from Zhongshan province in 154 BCE. *Hanshu*, 5.143. In 152, Handan province was made into the restored kingdom of Zhao, and the former king of Guangchuan (Liu Pengzu) moved there as king. Meanwhile, Guangchuan was reverted back to a directly managed commandery. *Hanshu*,

4.412, 28.1630, 53.2419. In 148, the emperor restored Guangchuan and positioned his son, Liu Yue, there as king. *Hanshu*, 14.415. In 147, Qinghe commandery was made into Qinghe kingdom, and his son Liu Cheng made king of Qinghe. *Hanshu*, 14.417. Finally, in 145 BCE, the Changshan kingdom was created from Changshan commandery, and Liu Shun was made king. *Hanshu*, 14.417.

The *Shiji* and *Hanshu* state, “[The old kingdom of] Zhao was divided into six” (趙分為六). *Shiji* 17.802; *Hanshu* 14.395. The old province of Zhao originally included Hejian, which was removed from Zhao early in Emperor Wen’s reign. As such, by Emperor Jing’s reign, the original territory of Zhao had now become six kingdoms: Hejian, Guangchuan, Zhongshan, Zhao, Changshan, and Qinghe. Tang and Weng note, however, that the old kingdom of Zhao was actually divided into nine provinces by Emperor Jing’s reign. In addition to the six kingdoms named above, the commanderies of Bohai, Wei, and Julu were removed and made into directly controlled commanderies. Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 198.

125. *Shiji*, 17.844, 106.2828.
126. Dai lost its northern territory (Dingxiang 定襄, Yanmen 雁門, and Dai 代 provinces). *Shiji*, 17.803; Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han zhengqu dili*, 79.
127. For example, the king of Wu sent envoys to the Minyue 閔越 and Eastern Yue, receiving troops from the latter. He also expressed confidence that the Southern Yue (Nanyue 南越) people would support the revolt with troops in a letter written to the other kings.

In that same letter, king of Wu also stated that the kings of Yan and Zhao had concluded agreements with the Xiongnu to provide troops for the revolt. He also requested that the “sons of the king of Changsha” request help from the Yue 越 people to secure the area north of Changsha and then to attack Shu 蜀 and Hanzhong 漢中. (Since the king of Changsha was a recently positioned son of Emperor Jing, the “sons of the king of Changsha” probably refers to the sons of the former king, Wu Chan, by other consorts.) *Shiji*, 106.2827–2828; *Hanshu*, 35.1909–1910.

128. *Shiji*, 17.842; 118.3081–3082.
129. *Shiji*, 17.840.
130. Emperor Jing subtracted six counties from Jiaoxi prior to the revolt to punish the king. Zhou Zhenhe believes that these six counties were what was used to create Beihai 北海 commandery. *Shiji*, 106.2825; Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han Zhengqu dili*, 120. When Jiaodong was restored with a new king after the revolt, it was restored without Donglai 東萊 province. Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han Zhengqu dili*, 122. The king of Jibei did not participate in the revolt. To “reward” him, he was moved to Zichuan, a smaller kingdom. Meanwhile, the king of Hengshan, who also had not revolted was moved to Jibei and given the old kingdom minus the province of Pingyuan 平原, which was retained as an imperially controlled commandery. Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han Zhengqu dili*, 112.
131. *Shiji*, 17.840.
132. Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han zhengqu dili*, 27, 29–31.
133. *Shiji*, 17.840–842. In addition to these, another kingdom in the central part of the empire, Linjiang 臨江, was turned into a commandery in 147 after the death of the discarded heir, Liu Rong 劉榮. *Shiji*, 17.847.
134. One exception is the king of Jiangdu who controlled two provinces. Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 204; *Shiji*, 17.802–803.
135. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 382; *Shiji*, 28.2082.
136. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 383; *Shiji*, 28.2083.
137. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 383; *Shiji*, 28.2083.

138. Jichuan 濟川, Jidong 濟東, Shanyang 山陽, and Jiycin 濟陰 were all kingdoms created from Liang and distributed among the king's sons. After the division, Liang also became a single-province kingdom. *Shiji*, 28.2086–2087.

139. Tang and Weng indicate that the court controlled 40.4 percent of the provinces at the end of Emperor Wen's reign. This appears to be an error. Since the court controlled twenty-four provinces while the kings controlled thirty-four, the ratio should be 41.4 percent to 58.6 percent. Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 164.

140. Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 205.

141. *Shiji*, 17.803.

142. For more information on how the Seven Kingdoms Revolt impacted the kingdoms financially, see Dong Pingjun 董平均, "Xi Han zhuhou 'weide yishi zushui' kaoyi 西漢諸侯‘惟得衣食租稅’考疑," *Shoudou shifan daxue xuebao* 首都師範大學學報, no. 4 (2004): 9–13.

143. *Hanshu*, 19.741. See also a similar passage in *Hou Hanshu*, 28.3627.

144. In 129, officials accused Liu Ci 劉賜, king of Hengshan, of several crimes, including seizing the land in his kingdom and destroying graves to create more land for agriculture. Emperor Wu did not permit the king to go to trial but punished him by ordering that all officials in his kingdom with a salary of two hundred piculs and above be appointed by the central court. Ru Shun 如淳 (third c. CE), cited in the *Collected Explanations on the Shiji* (*Shiji jijie*), noted that at that time the imperial court appointed all officials with a salary of four hundred piculs and above. Scholars have taken this to mean that after the Seven Kingdoms Revolt, the government appointed the majority of the kings' officials but still allowed them to appoint low-level officials or those with salaries below four hundred piculs per year. *Shiji*, 118.3095, n. 1; Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 209.

145. *Hanshu*, 5.146. For more information about the chief prosecutor, see Barbieri-Low and Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China*, 1:132–133.

146. *Hanshu*, 19.741.

147. *Shiji*, 59.2104.

148. *Hanshu*, 5.145.

149. *Hanshu*, 5.145.

150. *Hanshu*, 5.143; Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 210–211.

151. *Hanshu*, 5.147; Tang Xiejun and Weng, *Cong fenzhi dao jiquan*, 210. One *cun* is 2.31 centimeters (.91 inches). One *chi* is 23.1 centimeters (9.1 inches). For Western Han unit conversions, see Barbieri-Low and Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China*, 1:XXI.

2. FROM IMITATION TO INNOVATION: THE EMPEROR'S BALING TOMB AND THE MOUNTAIN TOMBS OF THE WESTERN HAN KINGS

1. Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 CE), *Hanshu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962) [hereafter *Hanshu*], 53.2414.
2. Shandong sheng bowuguan 山東省博物館, "Qufu Jiulongshan Han mu fajue bao 曲阜九龍山漢墓發掘報," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 5 (1972): 39–54; Jie Huaying 解華英, "Xi Han Lu guo wang lingmu zang xiangguan wenti chutan 西漢魯國王陵墓葬相關問題初探," in *Qufu lishi wenwu luncong* 曲阜歷史文物論叢, ed. Peng Qingtao 彭慶濤 and Kong Wenxu 孔文旭 (Beijing: Qunyan chubanshe, 2004), 315–324.

3. For an overview of these tombs, see Liu Rui 劉瑞 and Liu Tao 劉濤, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu* 西漢諸侯王陵墓制度研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010), 461–503.
4. Yan Genqi 閻根齊, ed., *Mangdangshan Xi Han Liangwang mudi* 芒碭山西漢梁王墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), 40.
5. Wang Yundu estimates that only a small number of workers (approximately ten to twenty) could have worked on the Shizishan tomb concurrently due to space limitations. If an average of ten workers worked on the tomb each day with each workman excavating approximately .5 cubic meters each day that they worked, the tomb would have taken roughly fourteen years to complete. Wang Yundu 王雲度, “Shixi panwang Liu Wu heyi neng anzang zai Shizishan Chuwang mu 試析叛王劉戊何以能安葬在獅子山楚王墓,” in *Liang Han wenhua yanjiu* 兩漢文化研究, ed. Wang Zhongwen 王中文, vol. 2 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2004), 205.
6. Wall murals, which are discussed in chapter 5, have been discovered on the wall and ceiling of the Shi Yuan 柿園 tomb. Yan Genqi, *Mangdangshan Xi Han Liangwang mudi*, 115–120. Architectural structures were constructed inside several tombs. See, for example, Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所 and Hebei sheng wenwu guanli chu 河北省文物管理處, *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao* 滿城漢墓發掘報告 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), 1:16–21, 220–225.
7. Jessica Rawson, “The Eternal Palaces of the Western Han: A New View of the Universe,” *Artibus Asiae* 59, no. 1/2 (1999): 24.
8. Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1995), 133–142.
9. David Tresilian, *Preservation of the Frozen Tombs of the Altai Mountains* (Paris: UNESCO, 2008), 17, 21–22; E. F. Korolkova, “Death and Burial,” in *Scythians: Warriors of Ancient Siberia*, ed. St. John Simpson and Svetlana Pankova (London: Thames & Hudson, 2017), 256–275.
10. See, for example, tomb 6 from the Sijiaodun 四腳墩 site in Dantu 丹徒, Jiangsu province. Lin Liugen 林留根, “Dantu zhen Sijiaodun Xi Zhou tudun mu fajue baogao 丹徒鎮四腳墩西周土墩墓發掘報告,” *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化, no. Zi (1989): 52–59, 264.
11. The largest tomb at the Zhenshan 真山 cemetery in Suzhou 蘇州, Jiangsu province, for example, was a vertical-shaft tomb carved into bedrock and located on a mountain peak. Suzhou bowuguan 蘇州博物館, *Zhenshan Dong Zhou mudi—Wu Chu guizu mudi de fajue yu yanjiu* 真山東周墓地：吳楚貴族墓地的發掘與研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), 11–15.
12. Francis D. K. Ching, Mark Jarzombek, and Vikramaditya Prakash, *A Global History of Architecture*, 3rd ed. (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2017), 173.
13. Ching, Jarzombek, and Prakash, *A Global History of Architecture*, 173.
14. Susan N. Erickson, “Han Dynasty Tomb Structures and Contents,” in *China’s Early Empires: A Re-Appraisal*, ed. Michael Nylan and Michael Loewe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 16–17; Robert L. Thorp, “Mountain Tombs and Jade Burial Suits: Preparations for Eternity in the Western Han,” in *Ancient Mortuary Traditions of China: Papers on Chinese Ceramic Funerary Sculptures*, ed. George Kuwayama (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991), 29.
15. Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 121–126; Rawson, “The Eternal Palaces of the Western Han,” 23–24; James C. S. Lin, “Protection in the

Afterlife,” in *The Search for Immortality: Tomb Treasures of Han China* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2012), 77.

16. For this transition, see Wang Zhongshu, *Han Civilization*, trans. Kwang-chih Chang, Early Chinese Civilization Series (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982), 175; Wu Hung, *The Art of Yellow Springs: Understanding Chinese Tombs* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 24–26; Lai Guolong, *Excavating the Afterlife: The Archaeology of Early Chinese Religion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), 55–97; Huang Shaofen 賀曉芬, *Han mu de kaogu xue yanjiu* 漢墓的考古學研究 (Changsha: Yuelu shushe, 2003), 90–92; Michèle Pirazzoli-t’Serstevens, “Death and the Dead: Practices and Images in the Qin and Han,” in *Early Chinese Religion, Part One: Shang Through Han (1250 BC–AD 220)* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 950–952; Rawson, “The Eternal Palaces of the Western Han,” 6.
17. Lai Guolong, *Excavating the Afterlife*, 64–65.
18. Lai Guolong, *Excavating the Afterlife*, 56, 64–65.
19. Lai Guolong, *Excavating the Afterlife*, 90–93; Pirazzoli-t’Serstevens, “Death and the Dead,” 952.
20. Pirazzoli-t’Serstevens, “Death and the Dead,” 953; Wu Hung, *Art of the Yellow Springs*, 26; Lai Guolong, *Excavating the Afterlife*, 70.
21. Jiao Nanfeng 焦南峰, “Xi Han diling kaogu fajue yanjiu de lishi ji shouhuo 西漢帝陵考古發掘研究的歷史及收穫,” *Xibu kaogu* 西部考古 (2006): 300; Liang Yong 梁勇, “Cong Xi Han Chuwang mu de jianzhu jiegou kan Chuwang mu de pailie shunxu 從西漢楚王墓的建築結構看楚王墓的排列順序,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 10 (2001): 77; Liu Qingzhu 劉慶柱 and Li Yufang 李毓芳, *Xi Han shiyi ling* 西漢十一陵 (Xi’an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 1987), 36. Others have claimed that Baling was “likely” rock-cut. Xu Pingfang 徐萍芳, “Zhongguo Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbei chao shidai de lingyuan he yingyu 中國秦漢魏晉南北朝時代的陵園和墳域,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 6 (1981): 522; Huang Zhanyue 黃展岳, “Qin Han lingqin 秦漢陵寢,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 4 (1998): 22. Finally, Wu Hung has previously argued that Baling is “one of the earliest known stone funerary structures in China.” Wu Hung, *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*, 126.
22. Huang Zhanyue 黃展岳, “Qin Han lingqin 秦漢陵寢,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 4 (1998): 22; Liu Qingzhu 劉慶柱, “Qin Han kaogu xue wushi nian 秦漢考古學五十年,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 9 (1999): 39; Thorp, “Mountain Tombs and Jade Burial Suits,” 29.
23. Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 咸陽市文物考古研究所, *Xi Han diling zuantian diaocha baogao* 西漢帝陵鑽探調查報告 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2010), 6–29; Liu Qingzhu and Li, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, 3–33.
24. Li Yinde 李銀德, “Lun Handai de yin shan wei ling 論漢代的因山為陵,” *Gu dai wenming* 古代文明, no. 4 (2005): 149.
25. *Hanshu*, 4.134.
26. It is also referred to as the Baling Plain. Xi’an shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuan hui 西安市地方誌編纂委員會, *Xi’an shi zhi* 西安市志, vol. 1 (Xi’an: Xi’an chubanshe, 1996), 268–269.
27. Xi’an shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuan hui, *Xi’an shi zhi*, 269.
28. Xi’an shi difangzhi bianzuan weiyuan hui, *Xi’an shi zhi*, 269.
29. Ying Shao 應劭 (d. ca. 204 CE) notes, “He [Emperor Wen] took the river’s name as his mausoleum’s sobriquet” (就其水名以為陵號). Sima Zhen’s 司馬真 (ca. 656–720 CE) *Shiji suoyin* 史記索引 indicates that Ba was also a mountain name: “Ba is a river name. The river crosses through a mountain, and so [the mountain] is also called

Ba mountain—that is, Zhiyang” (霸是水名，水徑於山，亦曰霸山，即芷陽地也). Sima Qian 司馬遷 (ca. 145-ca. 86 BCE), *Shiji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959) [hereafter *Shiji*], 10.434, n. 9.

30. *Shiji*, 49.1975; *Hanshu*, 97.3945.
31. Douling is not the historical name of Empress Dou's tomb. Some reports also refer to the site as “Empress Dou's Tomb” (*Dou Huanghou ling* 獨皇后陵). Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo, *Xi Han diling zuantan diaocha baogao*, 32.
32. Wang Xueli 王學理 and Wu Zhenfeng 吳鎮烽, “Xi'an Renjiapo Hanling congzung keng de fajue 西安任家坡漢陵從葬坑的發掘,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 2 (1976): 129.
33. Wang Xueli and Wu, “Xi'an Renjiapo Hanling congzung keng de fajue,” 132.
34. *Hanshu*, 97.3942.
35. *Hanshu*, 97.3942, fn. 2.
36. Wang Xueli 王學理, “Han Nanling congzung keng de chubu qingli—jiantan da xiongmao tougu ji xiniu guge chutu de youguan wenti 漢南陵從葬坑的初步清理—兼談大熊貓頭骨及犀牛骨骼出土的有關問題,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 11 (1981): 24.
37. Wang Xueli, “Han Nanling congzung keng de chubu qingli,” 24–29.
38. Wang Xueli and Wu, “Xi'an Renjiapo Hanling congzung keng de fajue,” 132. Feng-huangzui is located southeast of Mao Yao Yuan 毛窯院 village in the Baqiao 灑橋 district of Xi'an city. Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo, *Xi Han diling zuantan diaocha baogao*, 30.
39. Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo, *Xi Han diling zuantan diaocha baogao*, 31; Yang Wuzhan 杨武站 and Cao Long 曹龍, “Han Baling diling de muzang xingzhi tantao 漢霸陵帝陵的墓葬形制探討,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 8 (2015): 115.
40. Li Yinde, “Lun Handai de yin shan wei ling,” 151.
41. Li Yinde, “Lun Handai de yin shan wei ling,” 151. For the stone armor, see Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiu suo 陝西省考古研究所 and Qin Shihuang bingmayong bowuguan 秦始皇兵馬俑博物館, *Qin Shihuang diling yuan kaogu baogao* (1999) 秦始皇帝陵園考古報告 (1999) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2000), 48–165.
42. Li Yinde, “Lun Handai de yin shan wei ling,” 151.
43. Li Yinde, “Lun Handai de yin shan wei ling,” 151–153.
44. *Shiji*, 6.256.
45. *Hanshu*, 51.2328. See also Shi Jie, “Incorporating All for One: The First Emperor's Tomb Mound,” *Early China*, no. 37 (2014): 370–371.
46. *Shiji*, 102.2753. Similar passages in the *Hanshu* are 36.1951 and 50.2309.
47. He Jingming 何景明, *Yong daji* 雍大記, *Siku quanshu cunmu congshu* 四庫全書存目叢書, vol. 11 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe chubanshe, 1997), 184–193.
48. Examples of both scenarios can be found in recently excavated rock-cut tomb sites. Bao'anshan 保安山 tomb 2 in Henan province, for example, was sealed with more than three thousand limestone blocks. Yan Genqi, *Mangdangshan Xi Han Liangwang mudi*, 42. Stone blocks were also used in the Beidongshan 北洞山 tomb in Xuzhou to form the walls of an auxiliary chamber. Xuzhou bowuguan 徐州博物館 and Nanjing daxue lishi xue xi kaogu zhuanye 南京大學歷史學系考古專業, *Xuzhou Beidongshan Xi Han Chuwang mu* 徐州北洞山西漢楚王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003), 20–29.
49. Hu Lingui 呼林貴, “Heise luoti Hanyong de jianding 黑色裸體漢俑的鑑定,” *Wenbo* 文博, no. 4 (2003): 61. The term “stave wall” for *huangchang ticou* 黃腸題湊 tombs comes from Aurelia Campbell. Aurelia Campbell, “The Form and Function of Western Han Dynasty 'Ticou' Tombs,” *Artibus Asiae* 70, no. 2 (2010): 227–258.

50. Hu Lingui, “Heise luoti Hanyong de jianding,” 61; Yang Wuzhan and Cao, “Han Baling diling de muzang xingzhi tantao,” 117.
51. Hu Lingui, “Heise luoti Hanyong de jianding,” 60. For images and scholarly discussion of these so-called “black” figurines, see Guojia wenwu ju 國家文物局, *Zhuisuo luishi haiwai de Zhongguo wenwu* 追索流失海外的中國文物 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008), 17–24, 46–51. See also Jiao Nanfeng 焦南峰 and Yang Wuzhan 杨武站, “Gongting shenghuo de suoying: Xi Han diling zhong de taoyong 宮廷生活的縮影: 西漢帝陵中的陶俑,” *Shoucang* 收藏, no. 6 (2010): 89–97. For a technical report on these figures, see Xi'an wenwu baohu xiufu zhongxin kexue shiyan shi 西安文物保護修復中心科學實驗室, “‘Hei se’ tao yong de kexue fenxi yu jianbie ‘黑色’陶俑的科學分析與鑑別,” *Wenbo* 文博, no. 4 (2003): 64–68, 80.
52. Ma Yongying presented this information at the conference “Qin Han kaogu yu Qin Han wenming guoji xueshu yantao hui 秦漢考古與秦漢文明國際學術研討會,” held in Xi'an in October 2018.
53. Yang Wuzhan and Cao, “Han Baling diling de muzang xingzhi tantao,” 117–118.
54. Hu Lingui records, “On the east side of Jiangcun, there was previously a large mound. Local farmers excavated it when leveling the land, but villagers still remember that a mound originally existed. If you gaze at the site from a little further away, you can also see that it still resembles a turtle's back, gently protruding from the surrounding area. Looking from the east towards the west, it seems to be about two meters higher than the surrounding landscape.” Hu Lingui, “Heise luoti Hanyong de jianding,” 60. I asked Ma Yongying of the Shaanxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology about Hu's claim that villagers can still recall a mound at the site. He stated that he believes this report is erroneous; based on his interviews with locals, he believes there was originally no mound over the tomb.
55. Early stave wall tombs were simpler in layout and closer in design to vertical-pit tombs of the Warring States period. For an example of a stave wall tomb that was sealed during the reign of Emperor Wu, see Dayunshan 大雲山 tomb 1, attributed to Liu Fei 劉非 (r. 153–128 BCE) in modern-day Xuyi, Jiangsu province. Nanjing bowuguan 南京博物院 and Xuyi xian wenguang xinju 眱胎縣文廣新局, “Jiangsu Xuyi xian Dayunshan Han mu 江蘇眞胎縣大雲山漢墓,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 7 (2012): 53–59. For general information on stave wall tombs, see Campbell, “The Form and Function of Western Han Dynasty ‘Ticou’ Tombs,” 227–258. For a description of Jiangcun damu, see Hu Lingui, “Heise luoti Hanyong de jianding,” 61; Yang Wuzhan and Cao, “Han Baling diling de muzang xingzhi tantao,” 117–118.
56. Hu Lingui, “Heise luoti Hanyong de jianding,” 60.
57. Hu Lingui, “Heise luoti Hanyong de jianding,” 62–63. For Renjiapo, see Wang Xueli and Wu, “Xi'an Renjiapo Hanling congzung keng de fajue,” 131–132.
58. Yang Wuzhan and Cao, “Han Baling diling de muzang xingzhi tantao,” 114.
59. Yang Wuzhan and Cao, “Han Baling diling de muzang xingzhi tantao,” 115.
60. Yang Wuzhan and Cao, “Han Baling diling de muzang xingzhi tantao,” 119.
61. Translation adapted from Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *The Grand Scribe's Records: Volume 8, The Memoirs of Han China, Part 1*, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 333.
62. *Shiji*, 101.2740.
63. *Shiji*, 102.2753.
64. *Shiji*, 10.434.

65. Examples of translations that read the terms “mountain” and “river” as separate terms include Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *The Grand Scribe's Records: Volume 2, The Basic Annals of Han China*, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 182; and Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, trans. Burton Watson, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 308.

66. *Shiji*, 6.236–241. For an analysis of the First Emperor's claim to having aligned the cosmos, see Michael J. Puett, *To Become a God: Cosmology, Sacrifice, and Self-Divinization in Early China*. Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 57 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002), 225–242.

67. For Sima Qian's description of the First Emperor's tomb, see *Shiji*, 6.265.

68. For an English-language introduction to the First Emperor's tomb and the terracotta warriors, see Liu Yang, ed., *China's Terracotta Warriors: The First Emperor's Legacy* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 2012); Jane Portal and Hiromi Kinoshita, *The First Emperor: China's Terracotta Army* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007); Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000).

69. *Shiji*, 6.256. Also written as 驪邑, for example, in *Shiji* 87.2546.

70. *Shiji*, 6.256. Gideon Shelach has argued that the total number of people involved in the project would have exceeded this number if the skilled workers, artisans, and supervisors were counted as well. Gideon Shelach, “Collapse or Transformation? Anthropological and Archaeological Perspectives on the Fall of Qin,” in *Birth of an Empire: The State of Qin Revisited*, ed. Yuri Pines, Gideon Shelach, Lothar von Falkenhausen, and Robin D. S. Yates (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 130–131.

71. The tomb is located twenty-two miles east of present-day Xi'an. Liu Yang, *China's Terracotta Warriors*, 181. Xu Guang 徐光 (353–425 CE) records that there were four principal passes into the capital: the Hangu Pass to the east, the Wu 武 Pass to the south, the San 散 Pass to the west, and the Xiao 蕭 Pass to the north. *Shiji*, 7.315, n. 1. Li Feng notes that the name Container Valley Pass referred to the experience of wandering through a deep rift from which “travelers could barely see the sky.” Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou 1045–771 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 60–61.

72. *Shiji*, 8.347; *Hanshu*, 1.7.

73. It was not conventional at this time for an emperor to issue an *yizhao* before his death. In fact, previously, the term had been used in a variety of contexts. The First Emperor, for example, had argued in his stone inscription at Mt. Liangfu 梁父山 (or Mt. Tai 泰山, according to Martin Kern) that his laws would be decrees handed down (*yizhao*) forever to future generations. *Shiji*, 6.243; Martin Kern, *The Stele Inscriptions of Ch'in Shih-Huang: Text and Ritual in Early Chinese Imperial Representation* (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 2000), 2, 19.

Li Si 李斯 (d. 208 BCE) appears to have been the first to use this type of edict as a will. Li stated that he had received an *yizhao* from the First Emperor right before he died, instructing him to place Hu Hai 胡亥 (r. 210–207 BCE), the Second Emperor, on the Qin throne instead of the crown prince. *Shiji*, 6.264.

A *yizhao* was also circulated to the empire after the death of Han Empress Dowager Lü. This edict extended a general pardon to the empire and presented financial gifts to all of the empire's ranked aristocrats in hopes that they would continue to maintain her family's power. The edict also made some posthumous appointments,

such as the appointment of her relative, Lü Chan 呂產, as chief minister and of the daughter of Lü Lu 呂祿 as empress. *Shiji*, 9.406; *Hanshu*, 3.100. Compared with these, Emperor Wen's final edict was unique in that it presented his basic ideas with regard to his impending death, his funeral, and his burial.

74. I have translated “houzang” (厚葬) as “generous burials” to retain the historical associations linked with the term. Generally speaking, burials were described as “generous” in ancient China when they were too lavish or were furnished in an inappropriate manner. However, what constituted an inappropriate or lavish burial was a matter of long-standing debate. The *Analysts* defined a “generous burial” as one whose level of expenditure did not accord with the wealth or status of the host. See Confucius's discussion of the funeral of Yan Hui 顏回 in D. C. Lau 劉殿爵, Fong Ching Chen 陳方正, and Ho Che Wah 何志華, eds., *Lunyu zhuzi suoyin* 論語逐字索引 [A concordance to the Lunyu] (Xianggang: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1995), 11.11/27/6–9.

Mozi 墨子 (Mo Di 墨翟, 480–390 BCE), in contrast, argued that a “generous burial” was any burial that went beyond provisioning the basic needs of the dead. He defined the dead's essential needs as a “three cun thick coffin,” a burial shaft that did not break the water table, and a burial mound “sufficient to make the place (of burial) recognizable.” *The Mozi: A Complete Translation*, trans. Ian Johnston (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 228–231.

Finally, the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 argued that “generous burials” were burials that invited plunder with their high and easily identifiable mounds and expensive array of goods placed within. To “love” the dead, the text contended, was to prepare a tomb that would not be reopened by looters. Such a tomb would be hidden in the landscape and would not contain expensive objects. John Knoblock and Jeffrey K. Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei: A Complete Translation and Study* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2000), 227–233.

Emperor Wen's use of the term differs from these in that in his edict, an overly “generous burial” had nothing to do with the cost of the goods buried inside the tomb. Instead, a “generous burial” was a tomb that inappropriately demanded the forced labor of the common people. By deliberately not building a labor-intensive high mound, Emperor Wen painted himself as an emperor who selflessly considered the people's needs above his own.

75. *Shiji*, 10.433–434; see also *Hanshu*, 4.131–132.

76. For an extended discussion of Emperor Wen's *yizhao*, see Allison R. Miller, “Emperor Wen's ‘Baling’ Mountain Tomb: Innovation in Political Rhetoric and Necropolis Design in Early China,” *Asia Major* 28, no. 2 (2015): 21–26. For a study of the rhetorical strategies of Emperor Wen's final edict, see Meow Hui Goh, “Becoming Wen: The Rhetoric in the ‘Final Edicts’ of Han Emperor Wen and Wei Emperor Wen,” *Early Medieval China* 2013, no. 19 (2013): 58–79.

77. *Shiji*, 10.434. Translation adapted from Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *The Grand Scribe's Records: Volume 2, The Basic Annals of Han China*, 182; and Watson, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 308.

78. *Shiji*, 106.2836.

79. *Shiji*, 106.2822.

80. *Shiji*, 8.1418; adapted from Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume 9: The Memoirs of Han China, Part II*, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 95, n. 34.

81. *Shiji*, 28.1380.
82. Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu 徐州漢文化風景園林管理處 and Xuzhou Chuwang ling Han bingmayong bowuguan 徐州楚王陵漢兵馬俑博物館, *Shizishan Chuwang ling* 獅子山楚王陵 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2011), 8.
83. Quantity of rock quoted in Wei Zheng 韋正, Li Huren 李虎仁, and Zou Houben 鄒厚本, “Jiangsu Xuzhou shi Shizishan Xi Han mu de fajue yu shouhuo 江蘇徐州市獅子山西漢墓的發掘與收獲,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 8 (1998): 1.
84. The following sources have argued that Liu Wu was likely the tomb occupant: Wei Zheng, Li, and Zou, “Jiangsu Xuzhou shi Shizishan Xi Han mu de fajue yu shouhuo,” 9–10; Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, “Dui Shizishan Chuwang ling suochu yinzhang fengni de zai renshi 對獅子山楚王陵所出印章封泥的再認識,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 1 (1999): 52–55; Song Zhimin 宋治民, “Shizishan Xi Han Chuwang ling de liangge wenti 獅子山西漢楚王陵的兩個問題,” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物, no. 1 (2000): 22–24; Wang Yundu 王雲度, “Shixi panwang Liu Wu heyi neng anzang zai Shizishan Chuwang mu 試析叛王劉戊何以能安葬在獅子山楚王墓,” in *Liang Han wenhua yanjiu*, 204–215. In addition, the preliminary report stated that the tomb likely belonged either to Liu Wu or to the second king, Liu Yingke. Shizishan Chuwang ling kaogu fajue dui 獅子山楚王陵考古發掘隊, “Xuzhou Shizishan Xi Han Chuwang ling fajue jianbao 徐州獅子山西漢楚王陵發掘簡報,” *Wenwu* 文物 8 (1998): 31.

Those scholars who have argued against Liu Wu as the tomb occupant have contended that a king who revolted against the imperial throne would not have been permitted to be buried like a king with a jade suit. See, for example, Huang Shengzhang 黃盛璋, “Xuzhou Shizishan Chuwang mu muzhu yu chutu yinzhang wenti 徐州獅子山楚王墓墓主與出土印章問題,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 9 (2000): 69–70; Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 556–557. However, Liu Wu’s brother, Liu Yi 劉懿, marquis of Wanqu 宛朐, was buried like a marquis in a sumptuous tomb with a gold seal, despite also having participated in the revolt. See Xuzhou bowuguan 徐州博物館, “Xuzhou Xi Han Wanqu hou Liu Yi mu 徐州西漢宛朐侯劉懿墓,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 2 (1997): 4–21. For the marquis of Wanqu’s punishment for participating in the Seven Kingdoms Revolt, see *Hanshu*, 5.143.

85. For the unfinished side chamber, see Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu and Xuzhou Chuwang ling Han bingmayong bowuguan, *Shizishan Chuwang ling*, 90; Li Chunlei 李春雷 and Li Hong 李紅, “Xuzhou Shizishan Han mu muzhu ji qi xiangguan wenti yanjiu 徐州獅子山漢墓墓主及其相關問題研究,” *Xuzhou gongcheng xueyuan xuebao* 徐州工程學院學報, no. 22.5 (2007): 31. For the tomb ramp, see Meng Qiang 孟強, “Cong muzang jiegou tan Shizishan Xi Han mu de jige wenti 從墓葬結構談獅子山西漢墓的幾個問題,” *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化, no. 3 (2002): 52. For the army pits, see Xuzhou bowuguan 徐州博物館, “Xuzhou Shizishan bingmayong keng diyici fajue jianbao 徐州獅子山兵馬俑坑第一次發掘簡報,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 12 (1986): 2–3; Li Chunlei and Li, “Xuzhou Shizishan Han mu muzhu ji qi xiangguan wenti yanjiu,” 31.
86. For Liu Yingke as the tomb occupant, see Geng Jianjun 耿建軍, “Shixi Xuzhou Xi Han Chuwang mu chutu guanyin ji fengni de xingzhi 試析徐州西漢楚王墓出土官印及封泥的性質,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 9 (2000): 79–85; Li Zhaojian 劉照建 and Zhang Haolin 張浩林, “Xuzhou Shizishan Han mu muzhu kaolue 徐州獅子山漢墓墓主考略,” *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化, no. 7 (2001): 26–30; Meng Qiang, “Cong muzang jiegou tan Shizishan Xi Han mu de jige wenti,” 51–54; Liang Yong 梁勇, “Xuzhou

Shizishan Chuwang mu chutu yinzhang yu muzhu wenti de zai renshi 徐州獅子山楚王墓出土印章與墓主問題再認識,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 9 (2006): 78–82; Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 557–560.

In addition to these opinions, Huang Shengzhang has claimed that Shizishan belonged to the fifth king, Liu Dao 道 (r. 150–129 BCE) because a seal inscribed “invocator of Chu” (*Chu cisi* 楚祠祀) was found in the tomb. Huang argues that, according to the *Hanshu*, this position was referred to as grand supplicator (*taizhu* 太祝) in the Qin and early Han until Emperor Jing changed the title to “invocator” (*cisi* 祠祀) in 144 BCE. *Hanshu*, 19.726. In his view, the presence of this seal in the tomb means the tomb must postdate 144 BCE. Huang Shengzhang, “Xuzhou Shizishan Chuwang mu muzhu yu chutu yinzhang wenti,” 70.

Sophia-Karin Psarras has also used seal evidence to argue for an even later date. In Psarras’s view, Shizishan belonged to the eighth Chu king, Liu Yanshou 劉延壽 (r. 100–69 BCE), based on a “grand usher” (*da xing* 大行) seal found in the tomb. She argues that if the character *ling* 令 was omitted from the grand usher (*da xing*) seal, then the seal would read “prefect grand usher” (*daxing ling* 大行令), a title that replaced the title of prefect usher (*xingren ling* 行人令) in 104 BCE. See *Hanshu*, 19.730. In her view, the tomb then must postdate 104 BCE, and thus would have belonged to Liu Yanshou. Sophia-Karin Psarras, *Han Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 129, 313, n. 7.

Liu Rui and Liu Tao have problematized Huang’s (and by extension, Psarras’s) arguments by showing that the presence or absence of specific official titles is not a useful way to date tombs. Liu and Liu demonstrate that in the histories, different chapters of the *Shiji* and the *Hanshu* contradict one another in presenting the dates when specific official titles changed. Archaeological evidence has also shown that the histories provide an incomplete record of the official titles used in various places in the empire. For example, although the histories claim that the title of “invocator” (*cisi*) was used in the Han beginning in 144 BCE, Qin clay seal impressions and documents from the Shuihudi tombs at Yunmeng indicate that the title was already being used in the Qin alongside the title of “supplicator” (*zhu* 祝). Liu and Liu conclude that changes in Han official titles is a complicated matter about which our current understanding remains incomplete. As a result, at this time, the presence or absence of a specific title cannot be used for dating purposes. Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 552–553.

87. Wang Yundu has estimated that it would have taken fourteen years to build the Shizishan tomb. Since Liu Wu ruled for twenty-one years, this makes him a much more likely candidate. Wang Yundu, “Shixi panwang Liu Wu heyi neng anzang zai Shizishan Chuwang mu,” 205.
88. Liu Huaguo 劉華國, “Shandong Qingzhou Xiangshan Han mu peizangkeng chutu dapi jingmei wenwu 山東青州香山漢墓陪葬坑出土大批精美文物,” *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中國文物報, September 13, 2006, 117; Guojia wenwu ju 國家文物局, “Shandong Qingzhou Xiangshan Han mu peizangkeng 山東青州香山漢墓陪葬坑,” in 2006 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2006 中國重要考古發現 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007), 117–122; Wang Shougong 王守功, “Weishan Han mu 危山漢墓,” *Wenwu tiandi* 文物天地, no. 2 (2004): 60; Guojia wenwu ju 國家文物局, “Shandong Zhangqiu Weishan Handai muzang ji peizang keng 山東章丘危山漢代墓葬及陪葬坑,” in 2002 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2002 中國重要考古發現 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003), 81–86.

89. To date, at least sixteen royal tombs have been excavated in Xuzhou. For an overview of these sites, see Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 102–146.

Not all scholars have accepted the notion that Shizishan was the earliest tomb in Xuzhou. Some scholars have claimed that a tomb referred to as Chuwang shan 楚王山 belonged to Liu Jiao 劉交 (King Yuan 元, r. 201–179 BCE), the first king of Chu and therefore, preceded Shizishan. Chuwang shan is a large single-ramp rock-cut tomb with walls formed from stone blocks and an arched ceiling that was discovered in 1997 after it was looted. Since the tomb has not been formally excavated, no official report has been published. Two aspects of the tomb—its piled stone block walls and its arched ceiling—however, indicate that the tomb likely should not be dated to a period earlier than the mid-Western Han. For the argument that Chuwang shan belonged to Liu Jiao, see Meng Qiang 孟強 and Qian Guoguang 錢國光, “Xi Han zaoqi Chuwangmu paixu ji muzhu wenti de chubu yanjiu 西漢早期楚王墓排序及墓主問題的初步研究,” in *Liang Han wenhua yanjiu*, 170; Zhou Xueying 周學鷹, *Xuzhou Han mu jianzhu: Zhongguo Handai Chu (Pengcheng) guo muzang jianzhu kao* 徐州漢墓建築：中國漢代楚（彭城）國墓葬建築考, *Jianzhu xue boshi luncong* 建築學博士論叢 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2001), 52–61; Liang Yong, “Cong Xi Han Chu wangmu de jianzhu jiegou kan Chu wangmu de pailie shunxu,” 71–84. For Liu Tao’s arguments against this attribution, see Liu Tao 劉濤, “Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu xingzhi de yanbian 西漢諸侯王陵墓形制的演變,” in *Handai kaogu yu Han wenhua guoji xueshu yantao hui lunwen ji* 漢代考古與漢文化國際學術研討會論文集, ed. Handai kaogu yu Han wenhua guoji xueshu yantao hui bianwei hui 漢代考古與漢文化國際學術研討會編委會 (Jinan: Qilu shushe, 2006), 189–190.

Another tomb that some scholars have described as the earliest rock-cut tomb in Xuzhou is Beidongshan 北洞山. Based on coins, seals, and seal impressions found in the tomb, Liu Rui has argued that the first king of Chu, Liu Jiao, was buried at Beidongshan. Because the tomb did not yield “standard” *sizhu banliang* 四銖半兩 coins, he contends that the site must date prior to the fifth year of Emperor Wen’s reign (175 BCE). He also argues that since the tomb contains several seals and seal impressions of officials from counties that were removed from Chu just prior to the Seven Kingdoms Revolt in 154 BCE, the tomb could not have belonged to a king who was buried after the removal of these counties. Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 537–550. For the Beidongshan excavation report, see Xuzhou bowuguan and Nanjing daxue lishi xue xi kaogu zhuanye, *Xuzhou Beidongshan Xi Han Chuwang mu*.

Several problems, however, can be identified with Liu’s dating methodology. As Sophia-Karin Psarras has pointed out, because Han coins were only inscribed with the weight of the coin (and not the date they were produced), “it is impossible to assign with absolute certainty any given *banliang* or *wushu* [*wuzhu* 五銖] coins to a specific year of production.” Psarras, *Han Material Culture*, 11.

Second, the seals and seal impressions also cannot be used to date the tomb prior to 154 because, as Psarras has pointed out, not all of the seals in the tomb belonged to counties that were once a part of Chu. Some seals name counties that are unknown or “never belonged to Chu, even at its greatest geographic extent.” Rather than viewing the seals as markers of fealty, she proposes that they were

presented by officials either who attended the funeral or who presented gifts out of respect for the deceased king. Psarras, *Han Material Culture*, 129.

Stronger evidence that Beidongshan did not precede Shizishan is its style. In contrast to Shizishan, Beidongshan was a fully developed rock-cut tomb, constructed by carving horizontally into the rock to create a grotto. It featured a level ramp and side rooms with columns, both of which were later developments. Beidongshan also lacked auxiliary pits placed outside of the tomb—another common component of early tombs.

90. For an overview of these sites, see Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 102–214, 241–245, 254–259, 265–273. By “rock-cut tomb,” I mean any tomb with a chamber created by excavating rock. The exact form assumed by the tombs varied in accordance with local conditions. As a result, not all rock-cut tombs were horizontally oriented. Some were vertical-pit chamber tombs. Also, the builders of some rock-cut tombs lined the walls with stone bricks because of the low quality of the rock in the mountain. In Chinese publications, archaeologists group these tombs in a separate category, referring to them as “stone-chambered tombs” (*shishi mu* 石室墓).
91. Tombs with circular galleries include Bao’anshan tombs 1 and 2 and Mancheng tomb 1. For the Bao’anshan tombs, see Yan Genqi, *Mangdangshan Xi Han Liangwang mudi*; and Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo 河南省文物考古研究所, *Yongcheng Xi Han Liangguo wangling yu qinyuan* 永城西漢梁國王陵與寢園 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1996). For the Mancheng tombs, see Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo and Hebei sheng wenwu guanli chu, *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*.
92. Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 499.
93. Xuzhou tombs that employ columns include Beidongshan, Guishan 龜山, Dong-dongshan 東洞山, and Nandongshan 南洞山. For an overview of Xuzhou Han tomb architecture, see Zhou Xueying, *Xuzhou Han mu jianzhu*.
94. For an overview of roof types in Xuzhou, see Zhou Baoping 周保平 and Liu Zhaojian 劉照建, “Xi Han Chuwang lingmu xingzhi yanjiu 西漢楚王陵墓形制研究,” *Zhongguo lishi wenwu* 中國歷史文物, no. 6 (2005): 74–75.
95. Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo and Hebei sheng wenwu guanli chu, *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, 10, 218; Thorp, “Mountain Tombs and Jade Burial Suits,” 29–30.
96. Donald B. Wagner, *Iron and Steel in Ancient China* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 337.
97. Zhou Baoping and Liu, “Xi Han Chuwang lingmu xingzhi yanjiu,” 72–73.
98. Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo and Hebei sheng wenwu guanli chu, *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, 15–16, 161–178, 223. For more information on the two spirit seats, see Wu Hung, “The Prince of Jade Revisited: Material Symbolism of Jade as Observed in the Mancheng Tomb,” in *Chinese Jade, Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia* 18, ed. Rosemary E. Scott (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1997), 152–153. For a recent study of the Mancheng tombs, see Jie Shi, *Modeling Peace: Royal Tombs and Political Wisdom in Early China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020).
99. Personal communication with Zhuang Mingjun 莊明軍 of the Qingzhou City Cultural Relics Management Office (青州市文物管理所).
100. Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 144, 176–182, 188–189, 255–259.

101. Mai Yinghao 麥英豪, *Nanyue Wenwang mu* 南越文王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2012), 117.
102. One exception is the late Western Han emperor Xuan's (r. 74–49 BCE) tomb, Duling 杜陵, which, like Baling, was purposefully positioned south of the Wei River. For the imperial tombs, see Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiu suo, *Xi Han diling zuantan diaocha baogao*, 92–101.

3. NEW STYLES FROM POLITICAL CHANGE: THE EARLY HAN KINGS AND THE REIMAGINING OF TERRACOTTA ARMIES

1. *Shiji*, 106.2825–2827.
2. *Shiji*, 106.2825.
3. *Shiji* 50.1990, 106.2825; *Hanshu* 35.1906. *Shiji* 106.2825 states that the king of Zhao was deprived of Hejian 河間 province rather than Changshan. This seems to be an error since as commentators have argued, Emperor Jing's son, Liu De 劉德, was made king of Hejian in 155 BCE. For a full discussion, see William H. Nienhauser, ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume 9: The Memoirs of Han China, Part II* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 102, n. 73.
4. *Shiji*, 50.1988, 106.2825; *Hanshu*, 36.1924. The *Hanshu* states that the provinces of Donghai 東海 and Xue 薛 were removed from Chu indicating that two-thirds rather than one-third of Chu's territory was removed. However, this appears to be a conflation of the emperor's deductions before and after the revolt. After the revolt, Emperor Jing removed Xue province from Chu to revive the kingdom of Lu 魯, which he gave to his son, Liu Yu 劉餘 (r. 154–129 BCE). He also removed the southern half of Pei 沛 province to create Pei commandery (Peijun 沛郡). Zhou Zhenhe, *Xi Han zhengqu dili*, 29.
5. *Shiji*, 106.2825.
6. *Shiji*, 106.2835. Qi was besieged by the armies of Jiaoxi, Jiaodong, Jinan, and Zichuan for three months, but the armies were unable to make it submit.
7. *Shiji*, 106.2827.
8. *Shiji*, 106.2835.
9. *Shiji*, 106.2836.
10. Wang Shougong 王守功, "Weishan Han mu 危山漢墓," *Wenwu tiandi* 文物天地, no. 2 (2004): 58–65; Guojia wenwu ju 國家文物局, "Shandong Zhangqiu Weishan Handai muzang ji peizang keng 山東章丘危山漢代墓葬及陪葬坑," in 2002 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2002 中國重要考古發現 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003), 81–86; Liu Rui 劉瑞 and Liu Tao 劉濤, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu* 西漢諸侯王陵墓制度研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010), 241–245.
11. For the pits positioned near the king of Chu's tomb at Shizishan, see Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu 徐州漢文化風景園林管理處 and Xuzhou Chuwang ling Han bingmayong bowuguan 徐州楚王陵漢兵馬俑博物館, *Shizishan Chuwang ling* 獅子山楚王陵 (Nanjing: Nanjing chubanshe, 2011), 142–151, 162–186. See also Xuzhou bowuguan 徐州博物館, "Xuzhou Shizishan bingmayong keng diyici fajue jianbao 徐州獅子山兵馬俑坑第一次發掘簡報," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 12 (1986): 1–12. For a discussion of the dating of this tomb, see chapter 2.

For the pits near the Xiangshan tomb, see Wu Hongyan 吳紅艷, “Xiangshan Han mu he Yangjiawan Han mu chutu caihui taoyong zhizuo gongyi yanjiu 香山漢墓和楊家灣漢墓出土彩繪陶俑製作工藝研究,” *Wenbo* 文博 6 (2010): 82–85; Guojia wenwu ju 國家文物局, “Shandong Qingzhou Xiangshan Han mu peizangkeng 山東青州香山漢墓陪葬坑” in 2006 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2006 中國重要考古發現 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007), 117–122; Liu Huaguo 劉華國, “Shandong Qingzhou Xiangshan Han mu peizangkeng chutu dapi jingmei wenwu 山東青州香山漢墓陪葬坑出土大批精美文物,” *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中國文物報, September 13, 2006, 117.

Finally, an auxiliary pit discovered at Shanwangcun is presumed to have been constructed for a king of Qi. The pit is located just north of a large tomb, originally mounded, that was paved when railroad tracks were constructed in that area. Archaeologists assume the pit was created for a king based on its size (and the size of the former nearby tomb mound with which it is associated). However, this attribution remains tentative. Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 山東省文物考古研究所 et al., *Linzi Shanwangcun Handai bingmayong* 臨淄山王村漢代兵馬俑 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2017); Han Weidong 韓偉東 et al., “Shandong Linzi Shanwangcun Handai bingmayong keng fajue jianbao 山東臨淄山王村漢代兵馬俑坑發掘簡報,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 6 (2016): 4–29; Wei Chengmin 魏成敏 and Cai Youzhen 蔡友振, “Zibo shi Shanwangcun Handai bingmayong keng 淄博市山王村漢代兵馬俑坑,” in *Zhongguo kaogu xue nianjian* 2009 中國考古學年鑑 2009 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009), 254–255.

12. For an English-language overview of the First Emperor's terracotta army, see Jane Portal, *The First Emperor: China's Terracotta Army* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007) and Liu Yang, ed., *China's Terracotta Warriors: The First Emperor's Legacy* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 2012).
13. Non-military-related objects were buried with terracotta armies at several of the sites discussed in this chapter. At Weishan, for example, a drum and drummer, pottery chimes, and two ceramic *bi* discs were buried in the middle of pit 1. Wang Shougong, “Weishan Han mu,” 62. The large auxiliary pit discovered near the Xiangshan tomb contained not only army figures but also models of cows, sheep, pigs, dogs, and chickens, as well as bronze and ceramic vessels. Liu Huaguo, “Shandong Qingzhou Xiangshan Han mu peizangkeng chutu dapi jingmei wenwu,” 17. At Shanwangcun, warriors were buried in a courtyard setting. Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al., *Linzi Shanwangcun Handai bingmayong*. Finally, at Yangjiawan, a site near the capital region, some dancers and musicians were found in the army pits. Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuan hui 陝西省文物管理委員會 and Xianyang shi bowuguan 咸陽市博物館, “Shaanxi sheng Xianyang shi Yangjiawan chutu dapi Xi Han caihui taoyong 陝西省咸陽市楊家灣出土大批西漢彩繪陶俑,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 3 (1966): 2.
14. Xuzhou bowuguan, “Xuzhou Shizishan bingmayong keng diyici fajue jianbao,” 7–9.
15. Huang Qianqian 黃倩茜, “Qin bingmayong yu Yangling Han yong yishu tese zhi bijiao 秦兵馬俑與陽陵漢俑藝術特色之比較,” *Xibei daxue xuebao* 西北大學學報 30, no. 4 (2000): 143. For a discussion of how the Qin terracotta army was fabricated, see Lothar Ledderose, *Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 68–73.

16. According to Lai Guolong's research, the earliest burial figurines excavated to date are the wooden figures from Dahekou 大河口 tomb 1 (Shanxi province) and Liangdaicun 梁帶村 tomb 502 (Shaanxi province), both dating to the Western Zhou. Guolong Lai, *Excavating the Afterlife: The Archaeology of Early Chinese Religion* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), 107. For a useful chart of early anthropomorphic tomb figurines, see Armin Selbitschka, "Miniature Tomb Figurines and Models in Pre-Imperial and Early Imperial China: Origins, Development, and Significance," *World Archaeology* 47, no. 1 (2015): 23. For an overview of ceramic figurines in China, see Wu Hung, "From the Neolithic to the Han," in *Chinese Sculpture*, ed. Angela Falco Howard (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 17–103; Patricia Berger, "Body Doubles: Sculpture for the Afterlife," *Orientations* 29, no. 2 (1998): 46–53; George Kuwayama, "The Sculptural Development of Ceramic Funerary Figures in China," in *The Quest for Eternity* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1987), 63–93.
17. Lukas Nickel, "The First Emperor and Sculpture in China," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 76, no. 3 (2013): 414.
18. Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸陽市文物考古研究所, *Tàerpō Qin mu* 塔兒坡秦墓 (Xi'an: San Qin chubanshe, 1998), 125, 127–128, figs. 96–97, plates 1–2.
19. For Zhaiziling, see Fu Juyou 傅舉有, "Chuandi qiangu de fengyun: Hunan chutu de Chu Han muyong (shang) 傳遞千古的風韻:湖南出土的楚漢木俑(上)," *Shoucang jia* 收藏家, no. 10 (2009): 42. For Nülangshan, see Li Yuexun 李曰訓, "Shandong Zhangqiu Nülangshan Zhanguo mu chutu yuewu taoyong ji youguan wenti 山東章丘女郎山戰國墓出土樂舞陶俑及有關問題," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 3 (1993): 1–6, 97–99.
20. Zhu Junxiao 朱君孝 and Song Yuanru 宋遠茹, "Shilun Qin Shihuang bingmayong de gongyi jishu yuanyuan 試論秦始皇兵馬俑的工藝技術淵源," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物, no. 2 (2005): 86.
21. For Yangling, see Han Yangling bowuguan 漢陽陵博物館, *Han Yangling bowuguan* 漢陽陵博物館 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007); additional references can be found in table 3.1. For Fengqiyuan, see Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan 陝西省考古研究院, "Xi'an Fengqiyuan Xi Han mudi tianye kaogu fajue shouhuo 西安風棲原西漢墓地田野考古發掘收穫," *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物, no. 5 (2009): 111–112; Ding Yan 丁岩, "Fengqiyuan damu zhi mi 凤棲原大墓之謎," *Da ziran tansuo* 大自然探索, no. 6 (2012): 14–23.
22. Wu Hung, *The Art of Yellow Springs: Understanding Chinese Tombs* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 114.
23. Both preliminary reports state that the Yangjiawan army pits were likely constructed for either Zhou Bo (d. 169 BCE) or Zhou Yafu (d. 149 BCE). Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuan hui and Xianyang shi bowuguan, "Shaanxi sheng Xianyang shi Yangjiawan chutu dapi Xi Han caihui taoyong," 3; Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuan hui 陝西省文物管理委員會, "Xianyang Yangjiawan Han mu fajue jianbao 咸陽楊家灣漢墓發掘簡報," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 10 (1977): 16.
24. According to Nickel, "during the Han period, [the statues] stood in the Changle Palace 長樂宮.... Then, in the year 190 AD, the renegade general Dong Zhuo 董卓 (approximately 139–192 AD) had ten of them melted down for coinage. Several attempts were made to move the other two. In the fourth century AD, Fu Jian 芙堅 (338–385 AD), emperor of the short-lived Former Qin Dynasty, finally melted the last two of them down." Nickel, "The First Emperor and Sculpture in China," 437–438.

25. Wu Hung, *The Art of Yellow Springs*, 114. See also Wu Hung, “On Tomb Figures: The Beginning of a Visual Tradition,” in *Body and Face in Chinese Visual Culture*, ed. Katherine R. Tsiang and Wu Hung (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 24.
26. Wu Hung, *The Art of Yellow Springs*, 115. A similar statement can be found in Wu Hung, “On Tomb Figures,” 25.
27. Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu and Xuzhou Chuwang ling Han bingmayong bowuguan, *Shizishan Chuwang ling*, 180–181.
28. Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan 陝西省考古研究院, “Han Yangling diling dongce 11–21 hao waicang keng fajue jianbao 漢陽陵帝陵東側 11–21 號外藏坑發掘簡報;” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物, no. 3 (2008): 12–13.
29. Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu and Xuzhou Chuwang ling Han bingmayong bowuguan, *Shizishan Chuwang ling*, 148–149.
30. The wooden chariot on which the commander stood is the only one for which remains have been found in the four Shizishan terracotta army pits excavated to date. Five hundred and ninety-six kneeling figures with hands outstretched in a manner that indicates that they were originally created to drive or sit on chariots have been unearthed from pits 1 and 2. However, these figures were positioned very close together; the accompanying chariots were not buried in the pit together with the figures. This is consistent with the general conclusion that work on the site was halted abruptly when the ruler passed away. Wang Kai 王愷, “Xuzhou Shizishan bingmayong yanjiu 徐州獅子山兵馬俑研究,” in *Qinyong bowuguan kaiguan sanshi zhounian Qin yong xue diqi jie nianhui guoji xueshu yantao hui lunwen ji* 秦俑博物館開館三十周年秦俑學第七屆年會國際學術研討會論文集, ed. Qin Shihuang bingmayong bowuguan 秦始皇兵馬俑博物館 (Xi'an: Shaanxi chuban jituan and San Qin chubanshe, 2010), 285–287.
31. Shaanxi sheng wenwu guanli weiyuan hui and Xianyang shi bowuguan, “Shaanxi sheng Xianyang shi Yangjiawan chutu dapi Xi Han caihui taoyong,” 2.
32. At Xiangshan, standing figures were produced in three sizes, ranging from 38 to 58 centimeters (15–22.8 inches) in height. Similarly, horses varied in size, standing 50–80 centimeters (19.7–31.5 inches) tall. Wu Hongyan, “Xiangshan Han mu he Yangjiawan Han mu chutu caihui taoyong zhizuo gongyi yanjiu,” 82–83.
33. Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Linzi Shanwangcun Handai bingmayong*, 21–25.
34. Yuan Zhongyi 袁仲一, *Qin Shihuang ling de kaogu faxian yu yanjiu* 秦始皇陵的考古發現與研究 (Xi'an: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, 2002), 211, 217.
35. *Shiji*, 8.385.
36. *Shiji*, 106.2822. Translation adapted from William H. Nienhauser, ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume 9: The Memoirs of Han China, Part II* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 93.
37. *Shiji*, 107.2822.
38. The tomb mound of the first Han emperor measured 162–166 meters by 132–134 meters in area. For more information on the First Emperor's tomb mound, see Shi Jie, “Incorporating All for One: The First Emperor's Tomb Mound,” *Early China* 37 (December 2014): 359–391. For the first Han emperor's tomb mound, see Xianyang shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 咸陽市文物考古研究所, *Xi Han diling zuantan diaocha baogao* 西漢帝陵鑽探調查報告 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2010), 7.

39. Measurements for pit 1 of the First Emperor's terracotta army are from Yuan Zhongyi, *Qin Shihuang ling de kaogu faxian yu yanjiu*, 225. For Yangling, see Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo Han ling kaogudui 陝西省考古研究所漢陵考古隊, “Han Jingdi Yangling nanqu congzung keng fajue di erhao jianbao 漢景帝陽陵南區從葬坑發掘第二號簡報,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 6 (1994): 4–8.
40. The area of pit 1 of the First Emperor's Tomb was computed by taking 5.5 meters as the average depth of the pit.
41. *Shiji*, 6.241. For the First Emperor of Qin's claim to having aligned the cosmos, see Michael J. Puett, *The Ambivalence of Creation: Debates Concerning Innovation and Artifice in Early China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001), 225–242. See also Mark Edward Lewis, *The Construction of Space in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 171–172.
42. One earlier king, King Cuo (d. 308 BCE) of Zhongshan 中山, went so far as to design a plan of his mausoleum and engrave it on a bronze sheet as a template for his successors to follow. However, there is no evidence that a Warring States ruler actually began construction on his tomb before he died. For King Cuo's tomb, see Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河北省文物研究所, *Cuo mu: Zhanguo Zhongshan guo guowang zhi mu* [Cuo] 墓: 戰國中山國國王之墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995).
43. Ladislav Kesner, “Likeness of No One: (Re)presenting the First Emperor's Army,” *The Art Bulletin* 77, no. 1 (1995): 131.
44. Martin Powers, “Artistic Naturalism and Bureaucratic Theory,” in *Beyond the First Emperor's Mausoleum: New Perspectives on Qin Art*, ed. Yang Liu (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 2014), 40.
45. Xu Guang 徐光 (353–425 CE) records that there were four principal passes into the capital: the Hangu Pass to the east, the Wu 武 Pass to the south, the San 散 Pass to the west, and the Xiao 蕭 Pass to the north. *Shiji*, 7.315, n. 1.
46. *Shiji*, 6.256.
47. *Shiji*, 6.256.
48. *Shiji*, 6.265. See also, Gideon Shelach, “Collapse or Transformation? Anthropological and Archaeological Perspectives on the Fall of Qin,” in *Birth of an Empire: The State of Qin Revisited*, eds. Yuri Pines et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 121. For a discussion of the meaning of “*tuxingzhe*,” see Cao Lüning 曹旅寧, “Shi ‘tul’ jianlun Qin xingtù de shenfen ji xingqi wenti 釋‘徒隸’兼論秦刑徒的身份及刑期問題,” *Shanghai shifan daxue xuebao* 上海師範大學學報 5 (2008): 61–65.
49. Shelach, “Collapse or Transformation?,” 130–131.
50. *Shiji*, 6.265.
51. For the geographical origin of the people who worked on the First Emperor's tomb, see Xu Zhi et al., “Mitochondrial DNA Evidence for a Diversified Origin of Workers Building Mausoleum for First Emperor of China,” *PLoS ONE* 3, no. 10 (2008): 1. See also Yuan Zhongyi 袁仲一, “Cong Qin Shihuang ling de kaogu ziliao kan Qinwang de yaoyi 從秦始皇陵的考古資料看秦王的徭役,” *Zhongguo nongmin zhanzheng shi yanjiu* 中國農民戰爭史研究, no. 3 (1983): 31–32; Shelach, “Collapse or Transformation?,” 130.
52. *Shiji*, 8.347; *Hanshu*, 1.7.
53. *Shiji*, 6.265; *Hanshu*, 51.2328. Scholars are currently debating the veracity of Sima Qian's account. Anthony Barbieri-Low, for example, has argued that much of Sima Qian's description of the tomb may have been made up or informed by legend. Anthony J. Barbieri-Low, “Imagining the Tomb of the First Emperor of China,” in

Beyond the First Emperor's Mausoleum: New Perspectives on Qin Art (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 2014), 97–114.

54. Qin Shihuang ling bingmayong bowuguan 秦始皇陵兵馬俑博物館, *Qin Shihuang ling bingmayong* 秦始皇陵兵馬俑 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), 1.
55. *Shiji*, 8.376.
56. For more on how the government communicated with the populace during the Qin, see Charles Sanft, *Communication and Cooperation in Early Imperial China: Publicizing the Qin Dynasty* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2014).
57. Zhao Ping'an 趙平安, “Dui Shizishan Chuwang ling suochu yinzhang fengni de zai renshi 對獅子山楚王陵所出印章封泥的再認識,” *Wenwu* 文物, no.1 (1999): 52.
58. Xuzhou bowuguan 徐州博物館 and Nanjing daxue lishi xue xi kaogu zhuanye 南京大學歷史學系考古專業, *Xuzhou Beidongshan Xi Han Chuwang mu* 徐州北洞山西漢楚王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003), 114–116.
59. *Shiji*, 101.2744; *Hanshu*, 49.2275. Translation adapted from William H. Nienhauser, ed., *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume 8: The Memoirs of Han China, Part I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 341.
60. Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445 CE), *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), 62.2067. Miranda Brown has argued that the number of people who attended Chen Shi's funeral may be exaggerated. See Miranda Brown, *The Politics of Mourning in Early China* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 43 and 152, n. 15.
61. *Shiji*, 10.434.
62. In the past, Jessica Rawson has argued that “this short period of presentation to the mourners is unlikely to have been the sole justification for the detail of the individual pieces or for the extraordinary numbers in some of the largest tombs; nor can funeral display explain the care with which the figures were arranged within tomb complexes.” To clarify, my argument here is not that the funeral was the sole justification for such assemblages, but rather that we should not underestimate the importance attached to funerals in early China and the willingness of early Chinese populations to expend vast amounts of wealth on this short period of display. Jessica Rawson, “The Power of Images: The Model Universe of the First Emperor and Its Legacy,” *Historical Research* 75, no. 188 (2002): 124.
63. Yang Hong 楊泓 and Li Li 李力, *Zhongguo gubing ershi jiang* 中國古兵二十講 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2013), 133.
64. Yuan Zhongyi 袁仲一, *Qin bingmayong de kaogu faxian yu yanjiu* 秦兵馬俑的考古發現與研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2014), 129, 137.
65. Zhang Mingde 張民德, “Han qibing zhuzhan zhi liezheng: Xianyang Yangjiawan Han mu qibing yong 漢騎兵主戰之列證: 咸陽楊家灣漢墓騎兵俑,” *Wenbo* 文博, no. 6 (1992): 24.
66. *Shiji*, 7.333–334.
67. *Shiji*, 7.234–236.
68. Yang Hong and Li, *Zhongguo gubing ershi jiang*, 61.
69. *Shiji*, 55.2044. Cited in Anthony J. Barbieri-Low and Robin D. S. Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China: A Study with Critical Edition and Translation of the Legal Texts from Zhangjiashan Tomb No. 247* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 2:1119.
70. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II*, trans. Burton Watson, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 61; *Shiji*, 8.1417. See also *Hanshu*, 24.1127.

71. Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al., *Linzi Shanwangcun Handai bingmayong*, 10.
72. *Hanshu*, 1.65; Barbieri-Low and Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China*, 2:1119.
73. Barbieri-Low and Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China*, 2:1140–1141.
74. Barbieri-Low and Yates convincingly argue that this Lord of Lu was likely Zhang Yan 張偃 (d. 164 BCE), who was appointed as king of Lu 魯. Because he was still young at the time of his appointment, he remained in the capital with Empress Dowager Lü. Barbieri-Low and Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China*, 2:1142–1144, 1164, n. 146–147.
75. Barbieri-Low and Yates, *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China*, 2:1116.
76. *Hanshu*, 24.1133.
77. *Shiji*, 30.1420.
78. The general compared the two armies, stating: “Wu has mostly foot soldiers, and foot soldiers are advantageous on dangerous terrain; Han has mostly chariots and horsemen, and chariots and horsemen are advantageous on level terrain” (吳多步兵，步兵利險；漢多車騎，車騎利平地). Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *The Grand Scribe's Records, Volume 9: The Memoirs of Han China, Part II*, ed. by William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 117; *Shiji*, 106.2832.
79. Zhang Mingde, “Han qibing zhuzhan zhi liezheng,” 22.
80. Xuzhou Han wenhua fengjing yuanlin guanli chu and Xuzhou Chuwang ling Han bingmayong bowuguan, *Shizishan Chuwang ling*, 142–144.
81. Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al., *Linzi Shanwangcun Handai Han bingmayong*, 21–31. In addition to these cavalrymen, eight mounted figures, which archaeologists have interpreted as guards, were positioned in the rear of the pit. I have not included these eight in the total count of cavalrymen figures since they appear to have deliberately separated from the other warriors.
82. Wang Yanling 王燕玲, “Shandong Qingzhou Xiangshan Han mu chutu caihui taoyong chutan 山東青州香山漢墓出土彩繪陶俑初探,” *Wenwu chunqiu* 文物春秋, no. 2 (2010): 25–26.
83. Wu Hongyan, “Xiangshan Han mu he Yangjiawan Han mu chutu caihui taoyong zhizuo gongyi yanjiu,” 84–85.
84. Wu Hongyan, “Xiangshan Han mu he Yangjiawan Han mu chutu caihui taoyong zhizuo gongyi yanjiu,” 85.
85. For a discussion of northeastern minorities in the Han imperial army, see Yuan Zhongyi 袁仲一, “Han Jingdi Yangling chutu de qibing yong 漢景帝陽陵出土的騎兵俑,” in *Qin Han wenhua bijiao yanjiu: Qin Han bingmayong bijiao ji Liang Han wenhua yanjiu lunwen ji* 秦漢文化比較研究：秦漢兵馬俑比較暨兩漢文化研究論文集 (Xi'an: San Qin chubanshe, 2002), 212–215.
86. Zhongguo guojia bowuguan 中國國家博物館 and Xuzhou bowuguan 徐州博物館, *Da Han Chuwang: Xuzhou Xi Han Chuwang ling wenwu jicui* 大漢楚王: 徐州西漢楚王陵墓文物輯萃 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005), 84.
87. Most of the terracotta figures are believed to have worn robes of solid colors. One exception to this rule are two sections of paint preserved on the robe of a general discovered in pit 1, which bear a very fine, complex pattern. For the general's robe, see Yuan Zhongyi 袁仲一, *Qin Shihuang bingmayong bowuguan* 秦始皇兵馬俑博物館 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), plate 205–206.
88. *Hanshu*, 49.2300–2302.

89. See table 3.1 for the kings that have been associated with the Shizishan, Weishan, and Xiangshan armies. The date of the Shanwangcun army remains unclear. The excavation report proposed that because the pit contained pottery models, it likely should be dated to the mid-Western Han. Based on this, they suggest that the army may have been produced for the last king of Qi, King Huai 懷 of Qi, Liu Hong 劉闕 (r. 117–110 BCE). Nonetheless, the report also notes the similarity of the helmeted figures to those excavated from Shizishan. The cavalry figures, as noted above, are also strikingly similar to those excavated from the nearby Weishan and Xiangshan tombs. Therefore, I would suggest an early Western Han date. Shandong sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo et al., *Linzi Shanwangcun Handai bingmayong*, 92–93.

90. Liu Zunzhi, for example, provides a detailed list of tomb sites in Xuzhou where processional scenes have been excavated. Liu Zunzhi 劉尊志, “Xuzhou Xi Han mu peizang taoyong zuhe ji xiangguan wenti 徐州西漢墓陪葬陶俑組合及相關問題,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 8 (2013): 72–73. However, Liu describes three figurine assemblages as armies that are unlikely to have been armies: the assemblages from Tuolanshan 駄藍山, Li Wo 李窩, and an early Western Han tomb at Wanzhai 萬寨. Concerning Tuolanshan, which is unpublished, I contacted the Xuzhou museum, and they confirmed that some warriors were found in the tomb, but not a terracotta army. Preliminary reports for the early Western Han Wanzhai tomb and the Li Wo tomb have not been published.

91. *Shiji*, 59.2104.

92. *Hanshu*, 5.145.

93. *Hanshu*, 5.145.

94. When these figures were initially excavated in the 1950s, scholars referred to them as “nude figures” (*luoti yong* 裸體俑) because at the time of excavation, the figures appeared with modeled, naked bodies. In the late 1990s, Wang Xueli began referring to the figures as “clothed figures” because they were originally clothed, noting that the figures only appear naked to modern viewers because their clothing has decayed. Jiao Nanfeng 焦南峰, “Lun Xi Han ‘luoti’ taoyong 論西漢‘裸體’陶俑,” in *Zhuisuo luishi hawai de Zhongguo wenwu* 追索流失海外的中國文物, ed. Guojia wenwu ju 國家文物局 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008), 18; Wang Xueli 王學理, “Zhuoyi shi mubi taoyong de shidai yiji 著衣式木臂陶俑的時代意義,” *Wenbo* 文博, no. 6 (1997): 71–75. For a general overview of clothed figures, see Jiao Nanfeng 焦南峰 and Yang Wuzhan 楊武站, “Gongting shenghuo de suying: Xi Han diling zhong de taoyong 宮廷生活的縮影: 西漢帝陵中的陶俑,” *Shoucang* 收藏, no. 6 (2010): 89–97.

95. Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo Han ling kaogudui, “Han Jingdi Yangling nanqu congfang keng fajue dier hao jianbao,” 19.

96. Jiao Nanfeng 焦南峰 and Ma Yongying 馬永贏, “Han Yangling diling DK 11–21 hao waicang keng xingzhi tuiding 漢陽陵帝陵 DK 11–21 號外藏坑性質推定,” in *Han Yangling Han wenhua yanjiu* 漢陽陵漢文化研究, ed. Han Yangling bowuguan 漢陽陵博物館 (Beijing: San Qin chubanshe, 2010), 214.

97. Han Yangling bowuguan, *Han Yangling bowuguan*, 75, 78–79. He Qian 何倩, “Xi Han zhuoyi shi taoyong chulun 西漢著衣式陶俑初論” (Master’s thesis, Xibei daxue 西北大學, 2015), 28.

98. Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所, “Shanxi Changzi xian Dong Zhou mu 山西長子縣東周墓,” *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報 4 (1984): 514.

99. For an overview of the figurines excavated from the Jiangling region, see Masato Ozawa 小澤正人, “Jingzhou chiku niokeru Soyou nitsuite no ichi kousatsu 荊州地区における楚俑についての一考察,” *Seijo daigaku shakai inobeshon kenkyū* 成城大学社会イノベーション研究 2.2 (2007): 21–36. For the Mawangdui figures, see Chen Jianming 陳建明, ed., *Mawangdui Han mu chenlie* 馬王堆漢墓陳列 (Changsha: Hunan sheng bowuguan, 2004), 18, 24–25.

100. Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan, “Han Yangling diling dongce 11–21 hao waicang keng fajue jianbao,” 5.

101. Xuzhou bowuguan, “Xuzhou Shizishan bingmayong keng diyici fajue jianbao,” 3.

102. Scholars disagree as to which figures, of those excavated to date, are the earliest clothed figurines (*zhuoyi yong*). Previously, Wang Xueli contended that Emperor Jing’s clothed figurines were the earliest examples. More recently, some scholars have argued that Jiangcun damu 江村大墓, a site from which a few clothed figurines have also been excavated, belonged to Emperor Wen, rendering those figurines as potentially earlier than those produced for Yangling. Other scholars have argued that Jiangcun damu dates to the mid-Western Han, possibly belonging to Emperor Wen’s daughter, Princess Guantao 館陶 (Chen Piao 陳嫖, d. 116 BCE). See chapter 2 for more information. Wang Xueli 王學理, “Zhuoyi shi mubi taoyong de huihuang: lun Yangling Han yong chuxian de shidai yiyi 著衣式木臂陶俑的輝煌：論陽陵漢俑出現的時代意義,” in *Wang Xueli Qin Han kaogu wenxuan* 王學理秦漢考古文選 (Xi'an: San Qin chubanshe, 2008), 332.

103. See chapter 5 for more information about this tomb. Yan Genqi 閻根齊, ed., *Mang-dangshan Xi Han Liangwang mudi* 芒碭山西漢梁王墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), 171–189.

104. *Shiji*, 58.2082.

105. *Shiji*, 58.2083; *Hanshu*, 52.2394.

106. Tomb 8 at Fengqiyuan has been attributed to Zhang Anshi on the basis of inscriptional evidence discovered at the site. A tortoise-knobbed bronze seal inscribed with “Senior Scribe of the General of the Guards” (*weijiang changshi* 衛將長史) was found in auxiliary pit 5, a pit positioned on tomb 8’s southwest corner. Numerous clay seal impressions inscribed with the same title were also discovered in the ear room of tomb 1, a smaller tomb positioned to the east of tomb 8. Additionally, a large bronze seal inscribed with “Zhang” (張), measuring 7 cm (2.8 inches) long by 4 cm (1.6 inches) wide, was discovered in auxiliary pit 4, another pit in the nearby surrounds of tomb 8. Ding Yan, “Fengqiyuan damu zhi mi,” 14–23. For an overview of the positions assumed by Zhang Anshi over the course of his official career, see Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods, 221 BC–AD 24* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 672–674.

107. Two half-clothed/half-modeled figures were excavated from the Xin'an Village Brick Machine Factory tomb: Zheng Hongchun 鄭洪春, “Shaanxi Xin'an ji zhuan-chang Han chu jitan mu fajue bao 陝西新安機磚廠漢初積炭墓發掘報,” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物, no. 4 (1990): 46. (The report refers to the half-clothed/half-modeled figures as “clothed figures,” and what I refer to as “clothed figures” as “naked figures.”)

Three half-clothed/half-modeled figures were excavated from Guangming Company 光明公司 tomb 740, an accompanying tomb to Yangling, which was discovered just off the spirit road (*shendao* 神道) to Emperor Jing’s Yangling. He Qian, “Xi Han zhuoyi shi taoyong chulun,” 34–35. The report from this site has

not been published. A brief description of the site can be found in Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiuyuan 陝西省考古研究院, “2008 nian Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiu yuan kaogu diaocha fajue xin shouhuo 2008 年陝西省考古研究院考古調查發掘新收穫,” *Kaogu yu wenwu* 考古與文物, no. 2 (2009): 19.

In addition, half-clothed/half-modeled figurines were among 31 earthenware figurines that were gifted to the Han Yangling Mausoleum Museum in 2007 by the Chinese-American Fan Shixing and fourteen other individuals mostly based in the United States and Canada. The objects had previously been looted from China, smuggled abroad, and sold. See Guojia wenwu ju 國家文物局, ed., *Zhuisuo huishi hawai de Zhongguo wenwu* 追索流失海外的中國文物 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008), 26–51.

108. He Qian, “Xi Han zhuoyi shi taoyong chulun,” 34–35.

4. THE MANY MEANINGS OF JADE: JADE SUITS AND LOCAL IDENTITY IN THE EARLY HAN

1. *Hanshu*, 36.1921.
2. *Hanshu*, 36.1921, 88.3608. For Fu Qiubo, see Masayuki Sato, *The Confucian Quest for Order: The Origin and Formation of the Political Thought of Xunzi* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 29.
3. *Hanshu*, 36.1921–1922. The king’s commentary was titled *King Yuan’s Commentary on the Odes* (*Yuanwang shi* 元王詩).
4. Shen Gong is also referred to as Shen Pei 申培. See Michael Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary of the Qin, Former Han and Xin Periods*, 221 BC–AD 24 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 469–470.
5. *Hanshu*, 36.1923.
6. *Hanshu*, 36.1923.
7. *Shiji*, 121.3121; *Hanshu*, 36.1924, 88.3608. I have followed Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645) in interpreting “*xu mi* 脱靡”—the term used to describe Bai Sheng and Shen Gong’s punishment—as meaning “fettered.” Nienhauser et al. have argued that this term instead indicates that the two men suffered castration. Ssu-ma Ch’ien, *The Grand Scribe’s Records. Volume X, The Memoirs of Han China, Part III*, trans. William H. Nienhauser (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016), 284–285, n. 111.
8. *Hanshu*, 36.1924.
9. See chapter 2 for a discussion of the tomb’s date.
10. An American quarter is 1.75 millimeters thick. Zhongguo guojia bowuguan 中國國家博物館 and Xuzhou bowuguan 徐州博物館, *Da Han Chuwang: Xuzhou Xi Han Chuwang lingmu wenwu jicui* 大漢楚王: 徐州西漢楚王陵墓文物輯萃 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2005), 308.
11. Zhongguo guojia bowuguan and Xuzhou bowuguan, *Da Han Chuwang*, 309.
12. When jade plaques are discovered at a tomb site, archaeologists cannot always assume that a full suit was originally buried there. Jade masks and partial suits (comprised of a head cover, gloves, and jade shoes) were also commonly buried with Han elites and utilized the same jade plaques as full suits. For a list of all sites where jade plaques have been excavated from the Western Zhou to the Eastern Han, see Li Guo’an 李國安 and Li Guiyun 李桂雲, “*Shilun yulianzang xianxiang* 試論玉斂葬

現象,” in *Liang Han wenhua yanjiu* 兩漢文化研究, ed. Sun Houxing 孫厚興 et al., vol. 3 (Beijing: Wenhua yishu chubanshe, 2004), 90–93.

13. Carol Michaelson, “Han Dynasty Chinese Glass Plaques in the British Museum,” *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 63 (1998/1999): 52.
14. Zhejiang sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 浙江省文物考古研究所, *Fanshan* 反山 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2005), 27. For an overview of jade in the Neolithic, see Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Jade from the Neolithic to the Qing* (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 28–39.
15. The fabric veils to which the jades were attached have not survived. Nonetheless, archaeologists have broadly concluded that such a veil originally existed because of the placement of the jades over the face of the corpse and the fact that they were pierced with small holes that would have permitted them to be sewn onto fabric. Jade assemblages that have been interpreted as face covers have been excavated from Western Zhou sites including the Tianma–Qucun 天馬—曲村 burial ground in Shanxi province, the Zhangjiapo 張家坡 family burial ground in Shaanxi, and the Sanmenxia 三門峽 cemetery in Henan, among others. A full inventory of sites where jade face covers have been excavated can be found in Li Guo'an and Li, “Shilun yu lianzang xianxiang,” 90. See also Gu Fang 古方, *Zhongguo guyu tudian* 中國古玉圖典 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007), 148–149, 214–215; Susan Erickson, “Ways of Facing the Dead in Ancient China,” *Arts Asiatiques* 67, no. 1 (2012): 19–34; Ladislav Kesner, “Face as Artifact in Chinese Art,” *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 51 (2007): 38–42; and Wang Tao and Yu Liu, “The Face of the Other World: Jade Face-Covers from Ancient Tombs,” in *Chinese Jades, Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in China* No. 18, ed. Rosemary E. Scott (London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, 1997), 133–146.
16. In Xuzhou today, some people still place a cloth over the face of the deceased. The cloth, however, is made of straw, which does not cling to the face. Gen Di 艮迪, “Xuzhou Funerary Practices Passed Down from the Han Dynasty to the Present,” in *Dreams of the Kings: A Jade Suit for Eternity, Treasures of the Han Dynasty from Xuzhou*, ed. Li Yinde and Willow Weilan Hai (Nanjing: Jiangsu fenghuang meishu chubanshe, 2017), 79.
17. Gen Di, “Xuzhou Funerary Practices Passed Down,” 79, 86.
18. For example, numerous jades were found strewn around the bodies buried in the Western Zhou tombs of the dukes of Jin 晉. Sun Qingwei 孫慶偉, “Jinhou mudi chutu yuqi yanjiu zhaji 晉侯墓地出土玉器研究札記,” *Huaxia kaogu* 華夏考古, no. 1 (1999): 60–71; Li Shuicheng, “Eternal Glory: The Origins of Eastern Jade Burial and Its Far-Reaching Influence,” 322.
19. Wang Mingqin 王明欽, “Hubei Jingzhou Qinjiashan erhao mu qingli jianbao 湖北荊州秦家山二號墓清理簡報,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 4 (1999): 23, fig. 14, plate 3; Erickson, “Ways of Facing the Dead,” 22.
20. Suzhou Bowuguan 蘇州博物館, *Zhenshan Dong Zhou mudi—Wu Chu guizu mudi de fajue yu yanjiu* 真山東周墓地：吳楚貴族墓地的發掘與研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1999), 58.
21. Zhao Jianchao 趙建朝 and Li Haixiang 李海祥, “Hebei Handan Zhaowang ling erhao ling chutu de Zhanguo wenwu 河北邯鄲趙王陵二號陵出土的戰國文物,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 3 (2009): 91–92.
22. Seventeen rectangular plaques with pierced corners were found in the Spring and Autumn period tomb of Huang Junmeng 黃君孟’s wife in Henan. Ou Tansheng

歐潭生, “Chunqiu zaoqi Huang Junmeng fufu mu fajue baogao 春秋早期黃君孟夫婦墓發掘報告,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 4 (1984): 327.

Fenshuiling 分水嶺 tombs 269 and 270, discovered in Changzhi 長治, Shanxi province and dating to the Warring States period, contained three and seventeen rectangular pierced jade plaques respectively. Bian Chengxiu 邊成修 and Li Fengshan 李奉山, “Changzhi Fenshuiling 269, 270 hao Dong Zhou mu 長治分水嶺 269、270號東周墓,” *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報, no. 2 (1974): 73, 81.

In addition, from the Warring States tomb of King Cuo of Zhongshan, twenty jade plaques, each pierced with one to four holes, have been excavated. Hebei sheng wenwu yanjiusuo 河北省文物研究所, *Cuo mu: Zhanguo Zhongshan guo guowang zhi mu* [Cuo] 墓: 戰國中山國國王之墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1995), 232.

23. Pierced plaques could be used for purposes other than creating jade suits; they formed parts of belts, casket decorations, jade pillows, jade armor, and other items.
24. Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所 and Qin Shihuang bingmayong bowuguan 秦始皇兵馬俑博物館, *Qin Shihuangdi lingyuan kaogu baogao* (1999) 秦始皇帝陵園考古報告 (1999) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2000), 61.
25. Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo and Qin Shihuang bingmayong bowuguan, *Qin-shihuangdi lingyuan kaogu baogao* (1999), 61–64. See table 4.1 for the approximate thickness of the plaques used in Western Han full jade suits.
26. James Lin, “Armour for the Afterlife,” in *The First Emperor: China’s Terracotta Army*, ed. Jane Portal (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 184.
27. Overlapping or “fish-scale” jade plaques have been discovered in two Western Han graves: the Beidongshan 北洞山 tomb in Xuzhou, Jiangsu and from a brick tomb of a high-ranking aristocrat at Zhangjiapu 張家堡 in Xi'an. These plaques have not been discovered in sufficient numbers to determine whether they were originally utilized in a jade suit. See discussion later in this chapter. Zhang Xiaoli 張小麗 et al., “Xi'an shi Zhangjiapu liangzuo Xi Han muzang de fajue 西安市張家堡兩座西漢墓葬的發掘,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 2 (2019): 23–37; Xuzhou bowuguan 徐州博物館 and Nanjing daxue lishi xue xi kaogu zhuanye 南京大學歷史學系考古專業, *Xuzhou Beidongshan Xi Han Chuwang mu* 徐州北洞山西漢楚王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003), 128.
28. For these approaches, see Li Shuicheng, “Eternal Glory,” 315–327; Yang Hong and Yang Xiaoneng, “Jade Suits of the Han Dynasty and Painted Pottery Figurines of the Tang Dynasty: Reflections of Han and Tang Aristocratic Burial Practices,” in *New Perspectives on China’s Past: Chinese Archaeology in the Twentieth Century, Vol. 1: Cultures and Civilizations Reconsidered* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2004), 345–352.
29. Ladislav Kesner, “Face as Artifact in Chinese Art,” 38–42.
30. Li Yinde has proposed that artisans may have employed a grid system to plan out the design of each suit, citing numbers found on the reverse side of several plaques that formed Liu Sheng’s suit from Mancheng tomb 1. Li hypothesizes that these numbers may have indicated each piece’s position in the suit. Li Yinde, “The System of Use and Manufacture of Jade Suits,” in *Dreams of the Kings: A Jade Suit for Eternity, Treasures of the Han Dynasty from Xuzhou*, ed. Willow Weilan Hai (Nanjing: Jiangsu fenghuang meishu chubanshe, 2017), 61.
31. To attain color consistency, artisans had to be very resourceful. They often cut up existing (or possibly damaged) jade ornaments, such as round *bi* disks, *huang* (half disks), and sword pommels. Li Yinde, “The System of Use and Manufacture of Jade Suits,” 62.

32. A variety of lacing methods can be observed in the suits. The Mancheng suit, for example, utilized four to six different lacing methods. Li Yinde, “The System of Use and Manufacture of Jade Suits,” 64–66.
33. Li Yinde, “The System of Use and Manufacture of Jade Suits,” 66–68.
34. *Shiji*, 43.1818; cited in Tang Qicui 唐啟翠, “Yushi zhi lu’ yanjiu huigu yu zhanwang” 玉石之路 研究回顧與展望,” *Shanghai jiaotong daxue xuebao* 上海交通大學學報 21, no. 6 (2013): 29.
35. *Shiji*, 87.2543. Zhang Shoujie’s 張守節 eighth-century *Shiji zhengyi* 史記正義 states that Mt. Kun was located four hundred *li* northeast of the Yutian [Khotan] state (Yutian 于闐國).
36. Gu Fang, *Zhongguo guyu tudian*, 32.
37. Gu Fang, *Zhongguo guyu tudian*, 32.
38. Gu Fang, *Zhongguo guyu tudian*, 33–34.
39. Yan Zhenyi 閻振益 and Zhong Xia 鍾夏, eds., *Xinshu jiaozhu* 新書校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), 3.91.
40. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 3.91–92.
41. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 3.91.
42. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 1.47.
43. Here, I follow Charles Sanft in reading *furui* 符瑞 as “tallies and seals” rather than as “signs and omens.” See Charles Sanft, “Rule: A Study of Jia Yi’s *Xin Shu*” (PhD diss., Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität, 2005), 237.
44. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 1.53.
45. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 3.111.
46. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 1.53.
47. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 1.54.
48. The only full Western Han jade suit excavated to date that did not belong to a member of the Liu family was the suit buried in the tomb of the foreign king of Nanyue 南越. The discovery of a jade suit in this tomb is not surprising since the Nanyue kings styled themselves as emperors. For the king of Nanyue’s suit, see Guangzhou shi wenwu guanli weiyuan hui 廣州市文物管理委員會 et al., *Xi Han Nanyue wang mu* 西漢南越王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), 1: 154–158, 359–371. For the kingdom of Nanyue, see Michael Loewe, “The Kingdom of Nanyue,” in *The Search for Immortality: Tomb Treasures of Han China*, ed. James C. S. Lin (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2012), 21–22; Francis Allard, “Frontiers and Boundaries: The Han Empire from Its Southern Periphery,” in *Archaeology of Asia*, ed. Miriam T. Stark (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2005), 233–244.
49. During the Eastern Han, Loewe notes, jade suits continued to be occasionally conferred on special favorites, including Geng Bing 耿秉 (d. 91 CE), Liang Song 梁竦 (d. 83 CE), and Liang Shang 梁商 (d. 141 CE). During that time, jade suits were also prepared by imperial workshops for the foreign kings of Fuyu 夫餘, whose territory lay in modern day Jilin 吉林 province in northeastern China. The Han court sent the suits to Xuantu 玄菟 commandery to be stored until the rulers died. Michael Loewe, “State Funerals of the Han Empire,” *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 71 (1999): 30, 32; Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445), *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964) 85, 2811.
50. See also Allison R. Miller, “Jade, Imperial Identity, and Sumptuary Reform in Jia Yi’s *Xin Shu*,” *Dao: A Journal of Comparative Philosophy* 15.1 (2016): 103–121.

51. Li Shuicheng, “Eternal Glory,” 319. See also Loewe, “State Funerals of the Han Empire,” 15.
52. This argument can be found in too many sources to list here. For example, Robert L. Thorp, “Mountain Tombs and Jade Burial Suits: Preparations for Eternity in the Western Han,” in *Ancient Mortuary Traditions of China: Papers on Chinese Ceramic Funerary Sculptures*, ed. George Kuwayama (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991), 34; Jessica Rawson, *Mysteries of Ancient China: New Discoveries from the Early Dynasties* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 27; Beijing yishu bowuguan 北京藝術博物館 and Xuzhou bowuguan 徐州博物館, *Longfei fengwu: Xuzhou Handai Chuwang mu chutu yuqi* 龍飛鳳舞：徐州漢代楚王墓出土玉器 (Beijing: Beijing meishu sheying chubanshe, 2016), 169.
53. Miranda Brown, “Did the Early Chinese Preserve Corpses? A Reconsideration of Elite Conceptions of Death,” *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 4, no. 1–4 (2002): 217.
54. In the *Baopuzi*, Ge Hong 葛洪 (284–364 CE) remarks, “When gold and jade are inserted in the nine orifices, the dead do not decay” (金玉在九竅，則死人為之不朽). Translation from Brown, “Did the Early Chinese Preserve Corpses?,” 205–206; Wang Ming 王明, ed., *Baopuzi neipian jiaoshi* 抱朴子內篇校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), 51.
55. Brown, “Did the Early Chinese Preserve Corpses?,” 206, 208.
56. Wu Hung, *The Art of Yellow Springs: Understanding Chinese Tombs* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010), 135.
57. Wu Hung, *The Art of Yellow Springs*, 135.
58. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *The Grand Scribe's Records: Volume 1, The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China*, ed. William H. Nienhauser, Jr. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 50; *Shiji*, 3.105.
59. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, *The Grand Scribe's Records: Volume 1, The Basic Annals of Pre-Han China*, 61; *Shiji*, 4.124.
60. *Shiji*, 4.124.
61. John S. Major and Sarah Queen, *Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China*, by Liu An, King of Huainan, Translations from the Asian Classics (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 11.8, 408; He Ning 何寧, *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋, vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 11.786–787. (A similar passage can be found in 12.909.) See also Loewe, “State Funerals of the Han Empire,” 31.
62. Brown, “Did the Early Chinese Preserve Corpses?,” 215–216; *Hanshu*, 67.2908.
63. Edward G. Slingerland, trans., *Confucius Analects: With Selections from Traditional Commentaries* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2003), 91; D. C. Lau 劉殿爵 et al., *Lunyu zhuzi suoyin* 論語逐字索引 [A concordance to the Lunyu] (Xianggang: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1995), 9.13/21/9–10.
64. Slingerland, *Confucius Analects*, 6; D. C. Lau et al., *Lunyu zhuzi suoyin*, 1.15/2/18.
65. Translation adapted from Scott Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian: A Study & Complete Translation* (Ithaca, N.Y.: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2012), 1:494. (The Chinese characters printed below the English translation reflect Cook's reading of several variant characters.)
66. Mark Csikszentmihalyi, *Material Virtue: Ethics and the Body in Early China* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 78.
67. Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian*, 1:493–494.

68. Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian*, 1:494–495.
69. Csikszentmihalyi, *Material Virtue*, 8.
70. Translation adapted from Dirk Meyer, *Philosophy on Bamboo: Text and the Production of Meaning in Early China* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 2:288.
71. Adapted from Cook, *The Bamboo Texts of Guodian*, 1:498–500.
72. D. C. Lau 劉殿爵 and Fong Ching Chen 陳方正, *Mengzi zhuzi suoyin* 孟子逐字索引 [A concordance to the Mengzi] (Xianggang: Shangwu yin shuguan, 1995), 10.1/51/11–12. As von Falkenhausen has noted, all known chimestones were fashioned from stone, not from jade. Lothar von Falkenhausen, *Suspended Music: Chime-Bells in the Culture of Bronze Age China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 216–217. As a result, it remains unclear whether the text was referring to chimestones as Zhu Xi originally suggested.
- D. C. Lau interprets Mencius's statement as referring to "jade tubes." D. C. Lau, *Mencius* (London: Penguin, 2003), 113. In fact, jade tubes, which resemble flutes but whose function is unknown, have been excavated from Han tombs. See Lin, ed., *The Search for Immortality*, 182–183.
73. Translation adapted from James Legge, *Li Chi: Book of Rites: An Encyclopedia of Ancient Ceremonial Usages, Religious Creeds, and Social Institutions* (Charleston, S.C.: Forgotten Books, 2008), 2:19; Sun Xidan 孫希旦, ed., *Liji jijie* 禮記集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 30.822.
74. Sun Xidan, ed., *Liji jijie*, 30.822–823.
75. Rawson, *Chinese Jade*, 54–60.
76. Rawson, *Chinese Jade*, 56.
77. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 8.324.
78. For the meaning of *xiang*, see Willard J. Peterson, "Making Connections: 'Commentary on the Attached Verbalizations' of the Book of Changes," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42, no. 1 (1982): 81.
79. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 8.324.
80. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 8.328.
81. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 8.327.
82. Yan Zhenyi and Zhong, *Xinshu jiaozhu*, 6.229.
83. The *Zhouli* recommended that the king and various high-ranking nobles carry different varieties of *gui* 壽 tablets and *bi* discs to signify their rank at court. Ruan Yuan 阮元, ed., "Zhouli zhushu 周禮註疏," in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏, vol. 1 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1997), 30. See also Rawson, *Chinese Jade*, 56–57.
- The *Xunzi* also privileged jades held as tablets. It advocated a system in which "the Son of Heaven presents a *ting* 珽 tablet; the regional lords present a *tu* 茶 tablet; and the grand officer carries a *hu* 筍 tablet." Translation adapted from John Knoblock and Zhang Jue 張覺, trans., *Xunzi* 荀子 (Changsha: Hunan Renmin chubanshe, 1999), 2:852–853.
84. For Jia's influence on Han imperial policy, see Charles Sanft, "Rituals That Don't Reach, Punishments That Don't Impugn: Jia Yi on the Exclusions from Punishment and Ritual," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 125, no. 1 (2005): 44. For his influence on the restructuring of the kings' territories, see Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, *The Cambridge History of China: Vol. 1, The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 BC–AD 220* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 144–149.

85. Lu Zhaoyin 墳兆蔭, “Shilun Liang Han de yuyi 試論兩漢的玉衣,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 1 (1981): 55. For the suit, see Hebei sheng wenhua ju wenwu gongzuodui 河北省文化局文物工作隊, “Hebei Dingxian Beizhuang Han mu fajue baogao 河北定縣北莊漢墓發掘報告,” *Kaogu xuebao* 考古學報, no. 2 (1964): 154.
86. Hebei sheng bowuguan 河北省博物館, Zhonggong Dingxian xianwei xuanchuan bu 中共定縣縣委宣傳部, and Dingxian bowuguan 定縣博物館, “Dingxian 40 hao Han mu chutu de jinlü yuyi 定縣 40 號漢墓出土的金縷玉衣,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 7 (1976): 58.
87. Lu Zhaoyin, “Shilun Liang Han de yuyi,” 55; Thorp, “Mountain Tombs and Jade Burial Suits,” 36.
88. For a list of instances when the Eastern Garden (*Dongyuan* 東園), a department under the supervision of the Lesser Treasury (*Shaofu* 少府), furnished jade suits and other funeral accoutrements for emperors and special favorites in the Western and Eastern Han, see Loewe, “State Funerals of the Han Empire,” 45–47.
89. Lu Zhaoyin 墳兆蔭, “Zai lun Xi Han yuyi 再論西漢的玉衣,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 10 (1989): 65; Zhongguo guojia bowuguan and Xuzhou bowuguan, *Da Han Chuwang*, 39–40.
90. Zhongguo guojia bowuguan and Xuzhou bowuguan, *Da Han Chuwang*, 39–40.
91. Zhongguo guojia bowuguan and Xuzhou bowuguan, *Da Han Chuwang*, 40.
92. Zhongguo guojia bowuguan and Xuzhou bowuguan, *Da Han Chuwang*, 40.
93. Fan Ye, *Hou Hanshu*, 80.1429.
94. Luo Han 羅涵 et al., “Xi Han zaoqi chutu jinlü he silü yuyi bufen yuliao caizhi ji qi jiagong gongyi tezheng guankui 西漢早期出土金縷和絲縷玉衣部分玉料材質及其加工工藝特徵管窺,” *Wenwu baohu yu kaogu kexue* 文物保護與考古科學, no. 2 (2012): 70; Guangzhou shi wenwu guanli weiyuan hui et al., *Xi Han Nanyue wang mu*, 118, 131.
95. Fan Chengda 范成大 (1126–1193 CE), *Wu junzhi : fu jiaokan ji* 吳郡志 : 附校勘記, Congshu jicheng chubian 從書集成初編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 43.369; Xu Lin 徐琳, *Zhongguo gudai zhiyu gongyi* 中國古代治玉工藝 (Beijing: Gugong chubanshe, 2011), 108.
96. Yangzhou bowuguan 揚州博物館 and Tianshang shi bowuguan 天長市博物館, *Han Guangling guo yuqi* 漢廣陵國玉器 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003).
97. Shizishan jade was tested against Hetian 和田 (Khotanese) jade and Manasi 瑪納斯 jade from Xinjiang; Geermu 格爾木 jade from Qinghai; Xiuyan 岫岩 jade from Liaoning; Suyang 漢陽 jade from Jiangsu; Wenzhuan 汶川 jade from Sichuan; Hualian 花蓮 jade from Taiwan; Nanping 南平 jade from Fujian; and Luanchuan 樂川 jade from Henan. Gu Xianzi 谷嫻子 et al., “Xuzhou Shizishan Chuwang ling chutu jinlü yuyi he xiangyu qiguan de yuliao zufen tezheng ji chandi laiyuan yan-jiu 徐州獅子山楚王陵出土金縷玉衣和鑲玉漆棺的玉料組分特徵及產地來源研究,” *Wenwu baohu yu kaogu kexue* 文物保護與考古科學 24, no. 2 (2010): 55.
98. The methods they used were direct observation, analysis under a microscope, environmental scanning electron microscopy (ESEM), and infrared and Raman spectroscopy.
99. Luo Han et al., “Xi Han zaoqi chutu jinlü he silü yuyi,” 69.
100. Luo Han et al., “Xi Han zaoqi chutu jinlü he silü yuyi,” 69–70.
101. Wen Guang, who conducted the scientific tests on the Shenzhushan suit, argued that pseudo-jades were purposefully utilized in the suit to differentiate rank. Citing the

entry on “*zan* 環” in the Han dictionary, *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, Wen contends that in the Han, kings deliberately used some pseudo-jades in their suits for sumptuary reasons. This entry states:

A *zan* is a jade that is three-fifths jade and two-fifths stone. From the jade radical and the *zan* sound. According to the *Rites*, “The Son of Heaven uses *quan* tablet, which is pure jade. The Dukes use the *mang* tablet, which is four-fifths jade and one fifth stone. Marquis use *zan* tablet, and Earls use the *jiang* tablet, which is half jade and half stone.” 環：三玉二石也。从玉贊聲。《禮》：「天子用全，純玉也；上公用馳，四玉一石；侯用贊；伯用埒，玉石半相埒也。」

Guang argues that because, in this passage, lower-ranking elites were instructed not to use tablets of pure jade, it was the case that Han kings also could not use pure jade suits. As discussed previously, there is no evidence that sumptuary regulations developed in the Zhou were ever applied. There is also no evidence that a system developed for jade tablets would have been applied to jade suits. Wen Guang 聞廣, “Gaoyou Shenjushan erhao Han mu yuqi dizhi kaogu xue yanjiu: Zhongguo gu yu dizhi kaogu xue yanjiu zhi si 高郵神居山二號漢墓玉器地質考古學研究: 中國古玉地質考古學研究之四,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 5 (1994): 84, 89–94; Ruan Yuan, “Zhouli zhushu,” 70; Xu Shen 許慎, *Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 1A:10.

102. Zhang Peishan 張培善, “Hebei Mancheng Han mu yuyi deng de kuangwu yanjiu 河北滿城漢墓玉衣等的礦物研究,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 1 (1981): 79–83.
103. Gu Fang 古方 and Li Hongjuan 李紅娟, *Guyu de yuliao* 古玉的玉料 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009), 104.
104. A dragon-knobbed gold seal inscribed with “Wendi xingxi” 文帝行璽 (administrative seal of Emperor Wen) was found in the king of Nanyue’s tomb, providing direct evidence that the king ignored the authority of the Han emperor and believed himself to be independent. For a discussion of this seal, see James C. S. Lin, *The Search for Immortality: Tomb Treasures of Han China* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2012), 286. For more on relations between Nanyue and the Chinese court, see Erica Fox Brindley, *Ancient China and the Yue Perceptions and Identities on the Southern Frontier, c. 400 BCE–50 CE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).
105. The scientific testing of jade suits is still in its infancy. To accurately test the location from which a jade was mined requires a large, comprehensive database of samples. Because such a database has yet to be built in China, scholars can only test jades against a narrow range of samples. See Rong Wang, “Progress Review of the Scientific Study of Chinese Ancient Jade,” *Archaeometry* 53 (2011): 674–692; Gu Xianzi et al., “Xuzhou Shizishan Chuwang ling chutu jinlü yuyi he xiangyu qiguan de yuliao,” 60–61.
106. Zhongguo guojia bowuguan and Xuzhou bowuguan, *Da Han Chuwang*, 308.
107. Hebei sheng bowuguan, “Dingxian 40 hao Han mu chutu de jinlü yuyi,” 57.
108. For the Shizishan suit, see Zhongguo guojia bowuguan and Xuzhou bowuguan, *Da Han Chuwang*, 308. For the Dingxian suit, see Hebei sheng bowuguan, “Dingxian 40 hao Han mu chutu de jinlü yuyi,” 57.
109. For Shizishan, see Luo Han et al., “Xi Han zaoqi chutu jinlü he silü yuyi,” 66. For Dayunshan, see Wang Wei 王瑋 and Wang Jinchao 王金潮, “Dayunshan Han mu jinlü yuyi xiufu baogao 大雲山漢墓金縷玉衣修復報告,” *Jiang Han kaogu* 江漢考古, no. 1 (2014): 113.

110. Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所 and Hebei sheng wenwu guanli chu 河北省文物管理處, *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao* 滿城漢墓發掘報告 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), 1:350.

111. Zhang Xiaoli et al., “Xi'an shi Zhangjiapu liangzuo Xi Han muzang de fajue,” 23–37; Xuzhou bowuguan and Nanjing daxue lishi xue xi kaogu zhuanye, *Xuzhou Beidongshan Xi Han Chuwang mu*, 128.

The term “fish-scale” (*linshi*) first appears in the *Lüshi Chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 text, and some have previously suggested that this reference indicates that jade suits were created prior to the Han. However, as Loewe has pointed out, this expression could mean a variety of things and “need not necessarily imply the complete enclosure of the body in a case or suit made of pieces of jade that had been sewn together.” Susan Erickson, for example, has argued that jades were piled in a “fish-scale arrangement” in a late Warring States period tomb at Changfeng 長豐 in Anhui province. John Knoblock and Jeffrey K. Riegel, *The Annals of Lü Buwei: A Complete Translation and Study* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000), 229; Loewe, “State Funerals of the Han Empire,” 30; Erickson, “Ways of Facing the Dead,” 25; Anhui sheng wenwu gongzuo dui 安徽省文物工作隊, “Anhui Changfeng Yanggong fajue jiuzuo Zhanguo mu 安徽長豐楊公發掘九座戰國墓,” *Kaogu xue jikan* 考古學集刊, no. 2 (1982): 47–60.

112. Lin, “Armour for the Afterlife,” 181.

113. Xuzhou Bowuguan, *Xuzhou Beidongshan Xi Han Chuwang mu*, 128.

114. Hebei sheng bowuguan, “Dingxian 40 hao Han mu chutu de jinlü yuyi,” 57.

115. Wang Wei 王瑋 and Wang Jinchao 王金潮, “Dayunshan Han Mu jinlü yuyi xiufu baogao 大雲山漢墓金縷玉衣修復報告,” *Jiang Han kaogu* 江漢考古, no. 1 (2014): 117.

116. Luo Han et al., “Xi Han zaoqi chutu jinlü he silü yuyi,” 67.

117. Luo Han et al., “Xi Han zaoqi chutu jinlü he silü yuyi,” 67; Li Yinde, “The System of Use and Manufacture of Jade Suits,” 63, 73.

118. For the Xishan suit, see Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 河南省文物考古研究所, *Yongcheng Xi Han Liangguo wangling yu qinyuan* 永城西漢梁國王陵與寢園 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1996); Wu Wei 武瑋, “Henan Yongcheng Xi Han Liangwang mu chutu yuqi 河南永城西漢梁王墓出土玉器,” *Wenwu tiandi* 文物天地, no. 3 (2015): 37–40. For the Tianjin suit, see Bai Rongjin 白榮金, “Yitao zhengui jinlü yuyi xinjin wancheng xiufu 一套珍貴金縷玉衣新近完成修復,” *Shoucang jie* 收藏界, no. 8 (2006): 59–61.

119. For the Tianjin suit, see Bai Rongjin, “Yitao zhengui jinlü yuyi xinjin wancheng xiufu,” 59–61. Another suit that features ears, which I have not included on table 4.1 is the suit currently located in the Aurora Art Museum in Shanghai. I have not included this suit because it lacks provenance, and its authenticity cannot be verified. It presents several features not seen in other jade suits: arched eyebrows, oval eyes, and an oval mouth. Cai Qingliang 蔡慶良, *Handai yuqi* 漢代玉器 (Taibei: Zhendan yishu bowuguan, 2005), 56–59.

120. Another option, proposed by the archaeologists who excavated the site, is that these shoulder accents were made from leftover material cut from the suit’s pant legs. Hebei sheng bowuguan, “Dingxian 40 hao Han mu chutu de jinlü yuyi,” 58.

121. Wu Hung, *The Art of Yellow Springs*, 136; Wu Hung, “The Prince of Jade Revisited: Material Symbolism of Jade as Observed in the Mancheng Tomb,” in *Chinese Jade, Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia* 18, ed. Rosemary E. Scott (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1997), 162–164.

122. Guangzhou shi wenwu guanli weiyuan hui et al., *Xi Han Nanyue wang mu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), I: 370.
123. Wu Hung, *The Art of Yellow Springs*, 133–134.
124. Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo and Hebei sheng wenwu guanli chu, *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao*, 1:350.
125. Guangzhou shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui et al., *Xi Han Nanyue wang mu* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), 1: 370.
126. Tian Zhimei 田芝梅, “Xuzhou chutu Han mu yuqi de fenlei 徐州出土漢墓玉器的分類,” *Dongnan wenhua* 東南文化, no. 1 (2008): 67.
127. Tian Zhimei, “Xuzhou chutu Han mu yuqi de fenlei,” 67–68.
128. Wang Yongbo 王永波, Zhang Zhi 張志, and Jing Lijun 靖立軍, “Shuangrushan Han mu yu Wudi zhubi 雙乳山漢墓與武帝鑄幣,” *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物, no. 3 (2001): 42–43.
129. Tian Zhimei, “Xuzhou chutu Han mu yuqi de fenlei,” 67.
130. Xuzhou Bowuguan 徐州博物馆, “Xuzhou Hanshan Han mu 徐州韓山漢墓,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 2 (1997): 41. For the painted decoration on these plaques, see Li Jing 李菁, “Xuzhou chenggong baohu liangqian nianqian yuyi caihui 徐州成功保護兩千年前玉衣彩繪,” www.CCTV.com, April 12, 2006, <http://www.cctv.com/history/20060412/101843.shtml>. Loewe argues that this suit was also most likely a partial suit. Loewe, “State Funerals of the Han Empire,” 22.
131. Hebei sheng wenwu guanli chu 河北省文物管理處, “Hebei Xingtai nanjiao Xi Han mu 河北邢台南郊西漢墓,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 5 (1980): 404–405.
132. Yangzhou shi bowuguan 揚州市博物館, “Yangzhou Xi Han ‘Qie Mo shu’ muguo mu 揚州西漢‘妾莫書’木梆墓,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 12 (1980): 2. See Carol Michaelson, “Han Dynasty Chinese Glass Plaques in the British Museum,” *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 63 (1998–1999): 54–55.
133. Ge Hong 葛洪 (284–364 CE), *Xijing zaji quanyi* 西京雜記全譯, eds. Cheng Lin 成林 and Cheng Zhangcan 程章燦, Zhongguo lidai mingzhu quanyi congshu 中國歷代名著全譯叢書 (Guizhou: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1993), 1.26; Jeffrey Kao and Yang Zuosheng, “On Jade Suits and Han Archaeology,” *Archaeology* 36, no. 6 (1983): 31.

5. THE MURALS AT SHIYUAN AND THE KING OF LIANG

1. *Shiji*, 58.2081–2082. The *Shiji* mistakenly records Liu Yi’s name as Liu Sheng 劉勝. According to the *Hanshu*, Liu Yi “loved the *Odes* and the *Book of Documents* and the emperor adored him and treated him differently than his other children” (好詩書，帝愛之，異於他子). *Hanshu*, 47.2212.
2. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, trans. Burton Watson, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 382; *Shiji*, 58.2082; *Hanshu*, 47.2207
3. *Shiji*, 58.2082.
4. *Shiji*, 58.2083.
5. *Shiji*, 58.2083, 117.2999.
6. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 383; *Shiji*, 58.2083.
7. *Shiji*, 58.2083–2084. The king’s decision to hire assassins to intimidate imperial court ministers deeply angered his brother, Emperor Jing. Although Empress Dowager Dou successfully begged the emperor’s forgiveness, the relationship between the brothers, the king of Liang and Emperor Jing, would never be repaired.

8. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 385; *Shiji*, 58.2087.
9. Approximate distance was computed based on Google Maps and the map included in Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 河南省文物考古研究所, *Yongcheng Xi Han Liangguo wangling yu qinyuan* 永城西漢梁國王陵與寢園 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1996), 5, fig. 2.

Bao'anshan 1 and 2 are believed to have interred King Xiao (Liu Wu) and his queen respectively, based on the size and architectural style of the tombs and based on inscribed earthenware tiles uncovered in the tombs' vicinity. In accompanying pit 1, positioned on the southwest corner of tomb 2 (purportedly the queen's tomb), an earthenware roof-tile which read “[King] Xiao's [burial] park” (*Xiao yuan* 孝園) was discovered as well as a seal inscribed with “[burial] park of the Queen of Liang” (*Lianghou yuan* 梁后園). Additional roof-tiles inscribed with “[King] Xiao's [burial] park” were found in the remains of a building positioned on a raised platform between Bao'anshan tombs 1 and 2. Yan Genqi 閻根齊, ed., *Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi* 芒碭山西漢梁王墓地 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), 14, 36, 66, fig. 30.6; 68, fig. 31.1. Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Yongcheng Xi Han Liangguo wangling yu qinyuan*, 65–70.

Sophia-Karin Psarras has recently challenged the tomb's association with King Xiao, stating “I find no reason to assume that Bao'anshan M1 is a king's tomb.” Certainly, the inscriptional evidence that links the site to King Xiao is found outside of the tomb, which makes it less reliable. On the other hand, evidence indicates that the site, based on its scale and position in peaks of the Mang and Dang mountains, was likely a king or queen's tomb. Since mountains were administered by the kings in the Western Han, it is unlikely that a person of lower rank would be permitted (or would have the resources) to build a tomb in such a position. See Sophia-Karin Psarras, *Han Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 9.

10. *Shiji*, 8.347. A stele dating to the reign of the Ming Muzong 穆宗 emperor (r. 1567–1572) remains at this site commemorating the emperor's vanquishing of the snake. Yan Genqi, *Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi*, 3.
11. *Shiji*, 8.348.
12. Yan Genqi, *Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi*, 3.
13. Yan Genqi, *Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi*, 14; Henan sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, *Yongcheng Xi Han Liangguo wangling yu qinyuan*, 97.
14. The original murals have been removed in modern times by archaeological teams; today, viewers see only a reproduction of the murals in the tomb.
15. Yan Genqi, *Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi*, 83.
16. Yan Genqi, *Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi*, 236–238.
17. I have summarized the key points of Liu's extended argument here. For the full account, see Liu Rui 劉瑞 and Liu Tao 劉濤, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu* 西漢諸侯王陵墓制度研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010), 560–576.
18. The archaeological report states, “the northern and western walls [surrounding the Shiyuan mausoleum] were likely linked with the northern and eastern walls surrounding Bao'anshan tombs 1 and 2.” Yan Genqi, *Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi*, 83; Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 567–569.
19. Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 567–568. For Queen Chen, see *Shiji*, 58.2087; *Hanshu* 47.2214.

Liu also notes that the size and layout of Shiyuan is very close to the king's tomb (Bao'anshan tombs 1), and therefore, the tomb is very unlikely to have been a consort's tomb. Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 570–571.

20. Further evidence that Shiyuan belonged to a female are four female figures discovered in the tomb ramp riding on model chariots or standing next to a chariot. Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 569; Yan Genqi, *Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi*, 173.

If an earlier queen did exist, it would not be surprising if, as Liu notes, her name was not recorded in the histories. Very few queens' names were recorded in official histories unless they were connected with a major intrigue. King Gong's wife, Queen Chen, mentioned above, for example, was involved in an intrigue as was her mother-in-law, Queen Li. Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 571–572.

21. Neither the Shiyuan tomb nor most late Western Han mural tombs can be definitively dated, so this estimate is tenuous at best. If we follow Liu Rui and assume, based on archaeological evidence that Shiyuan was constructed during the reign of Liu Wu, King Xiao of Liang (r. 168–144 BCE), then the latest the tomb could have been sealed would be 144 BCE. The next mural tombs to appear date to the late Western Han and were all built either in Luoyang 洛陽 or near the capital at Chang'an 長安.

Four late Western Han tombs have been excavated in Luoyang: Bu Qianqiu 卜千秋, Qianjingtou 淺井頭, Shaogou 燒溝 tomb 61, and Balitai 八里台, which was not excavated scientifically but collected by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Another four have been discovered in the Xi'an region: Qujiangchi 曲江池, Jiaotong 交通 University, Ligong 理工 University tomb 1, and Cuizhuyuan 翠竹園. Additionally, murals were found in Zhaowan 召灣 tomb 51, a late Western Han tomb located in Baotou, Inner Mongolia.

Of these, Bu Qianqiu's tomb has traditionally been dated earliest, to the reign of Emperor Zhao 昭帝 (r. 87–74 BCE) or Emperor Xuan 宣帝 (r. 74–49 BCE). If the tomb of Bu Qianqiu was in fact sealed in the first official year of Emperor Zhao's reign (86 BCE), this yields fifty-eight years between 144 and 86 BCE. As Nickel has pointed out, however, "based on its architecture, the murals and some items of tomb equipment, the Bu Qianqiu tomb was most probably finished only in the very late Western Han dynasty, shortly before the Wang Mang interregnum (A.D. 9–23)." Lukas Nickel, "Some Han Dynasty Paintings in the British Museum," *Artibus Asiae* 60, no. 1 (2000): 61. Sophia-Karin Psarras similarly dates the site to 9 CE. Psarras, *Han Material Culture*, 49. For the Bu Qianqiu tomb excavation report, see Huang Minglan 黃明蘭, "Luoyang Xi Han Bu Qianqiubihua mu fajue jianbao 洛陽西漢卜千秋壁畫發掘簡報," *Wenwu* 文物 6 (1977): 1–12. For Cuizhuyuan, see Xi'an shi wenwu baohu kaogusuo 西安市文物保護考古所, "Xi'an Qujiang Cuizhuyuan Xi Hanbihua mu fajue jianbao 西安曲江翠竹園西漢壁畫墓發掘簡報," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 1 (2010): 26–39. For the other sites named above, see Huang Peixian 黃佩賢, *Handai mushibihua yanjiu 漢代墓室壁畫研究* (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2008), 41–173.

22. For an overview of recently excavated king-level tombs, see Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 66–284.

23. He Xilin 賀西林, *Gu mu danqing: Handai mushibihua de faxian yu yanjiu 古墓丹青: 漢代墓室壁畫的發現與研究* (Xi'an: Shanxi renmin meishu chubanshe, 2001), 16.

24. Lillian Lan-ying Tseng, *Picturing Heaven in Early China* (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), 253–254.
25. He Xilin, *Gu mu danqing*, 16.
26. He Xilin, *Gu mu danqing*, 16. The earliest textual reference to the *lingzhi* mushroom can be found in Zhang Heng 張衡 (78–139 CE), *Western Metropolis Rhapsody* (*Xijing fu* 西京賦). Concerning these and some stone mushrooms which also grew on these banks, the commentator, Xue Zong 薛綜 (d. 243 CE), states, “stone mushrooms and *lingzhi* mushrooms are both magical plants that grow on immortal mountains in the seas, which are consumed by immortals” (石菌，靈芝，皆海中神山所有神草名，仙之所食者). Xiao Tong (501–531 CE), *Wen Xuan or Selections of Refined Literature: Volume I, Rhapsodies on Metropolises and Capitals*, trans. David R. Knechtges (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 201. *Lingzhi* plants could also appear as auspicious omens. See Howard L. Goodman, *Tsao P'i Transcendent: The Political Culture of Dynasty-Founding in China at the End of the Han* (Seattle: Scripta Serica, 1998), 201, n. 53.
27. For an overview of the Han mural tombs excavated before 2008, organized by region, see Huang Peixian, *Handai mushi bihua yanjiu*, 41–173. For a discussion of mural tombs excavated near the Han capital at Chang'an, see Arlen Lian, “Mural Tombs in Late Western Han Chang'an,” in *Chang'an 26 BCE: An Augustan Age in China*, ed. Michael Nylan and Griet Vankeerberghen (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), 131–151. For mural tombs in the Luoyang region, see Yang Zuolong 楊作龍 et al., *Luoyang kaogu jicheng: Qin Han Wei Jin Nan-Bei chao juan* 洛陽考古集成: 秦漢魏晉南北朝卷 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2007).
28. The use of chromatic black in the Shiyuan murals is particularly striking in the history of Chinese art, which traditionally placed strong emphasis on the painted line executed in black charcoal. Wang Liangtian 王良田, “Shiyuan Han mu bihua kaoshi 柿園漢墓壁畫考釋,” *Shangqiu shifan xueyuan xuebao* 商丘師範學院學報 23, no. 11 (2007): 16.
29. He Xilin, *Gu mu danqing*, 17. Three tombs were discovered at Mawangdui: tomb 1, Lady Dai's tomb; tomb 2, the tomb of Li Cang 李蒼 (Marquis of Dai 軟侯), chief minister of Changsha, who died in 186 BCE; and tomb 3, which is presumed to be the tomb of the son of Li Cang who died in 168 BCE. The construction of tomb 1 damaged the other two tombs, indicating that it was the last of the three tombs to have been built, presumably after 168 BCE. For more information about the dating of the Mawangdui tombs, see Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 14–16. For the excavation report for tomb 1, see Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖南省博物館 and Zhongguo kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所, *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu* 長沙馬王堆一號漢墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1973).
30. Zheng Yan 鄭岩, “Guanyu muzang bihua qiyuan wenti de sikao : yi Henan Yongcheng Shiyuan Han mu wei zhongxin 關於墓葬壁畫起源問題的思考：以河南永城柿園漢墓為中心,” *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 故宮博物院院刊 3 (2005): 70.
31. Zheng Yan, “Guanyu muzang bihua qiyuan wenti de sikao,” 71.
32. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II*, trans. Burton Watson, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 28; *Shiji*, 12.458, 28.1388.
33. Tseng, *Picturing Heaven*, 258.
34. Jonathan Hay, “The Passage of the Other: Elements for a Redefinition of Ornament,” in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, ed. Gülrü Necipoğlu and Alina Alexandra Payne (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2016), 62–64.

35. Martin Joseph Powers, “Looking at Ornament: The Red Lacquered Coffin from Mawangdui,” in *Looking at Asian Art*, ed. Katherine R. Tsiang (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago, 2012), 36–37.
36. Powers, “Looking at Ornament,” 51.
37. Kent C. Bloomer, *The Nature of Ornament: Rhythm and Metamorphosis in Architecture* (New York: Norton, 2000), 41–42.
38. Hay, “The Passage of the Other,” 65. See also Jonathan Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces: The Decorative Object in Early Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010).
39. Bloomer, *The Nature of Ornament*, 31.
40. Bloomer, *The Nature of Ornament*, 31.
41. Bloomer, *The Nature of Ornament*, 42.
42. Bloomer, *The Nature of Ornament*, 45.
43. See the poem bearing this title in David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u, The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 81–87.
44. Michael Puett, “The Ascension of the Spirit: Toward a Cultural History of Self-Divination Movements in Early China,” in *Religion and Chinese Society*, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004), 1:214.
45. Puett, “The Ascension of the Spirit,” 1:214–216.
46. Xiao Tong (501–531 CE), *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature: Volume 2, Rhapsodies on Sacrifices, Hunting, Travel, Sightseeing, Palaces and Halls, Rivers and Seas*, trans. David R. Knechtges (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), 53.
47. Xiao Tong, *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature: Volume 2*, 63.
48. Xiao Tong, *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature: Volume 2*, 63.
49. Xiao Tong, *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature: Volume 2*, 63–65.
50. Xiao Tong, *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature: Volume 2*, 67.
51. Xiao Tong, *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature: Volume 2*, 63.
52. The meaning of “Piled Blue-gem” remains obscure. Concerning this, Donald Harper writes, “The name Piled Blue-gem (*qunyao* 群瑤) is similar to the Piled Jade Mountain (群玉之山) mentioned in *Mu tianzi zhuan* [穆天子傳], 2.4a, as the domain of Rong Cheng [容成] where Mu stops on his westward journey to the land of the Queen Mother of the West.” Donald Harper, *Early Chinese Medical Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 398, n. 3.
53. Translation adapted from Puett, “The Ascension of the Spirit,” 202; Mawangdui Han mu boshu zhengli xiaozu 馬王堆漢墓帛書整理小組, *Mawangdui Han mu boshu* 馬王堆漢墓帛書 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), 4:148–149.
54. Zheng Yan, “Guanyu muzang bihua qiyuan wenti de sikao,” 62; Zheng Yan, “Western Han Sarcophagi and the Transformation of Chinese Funerary Art,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 61/62 (2012): 69.
55. Huang Shaofen 黃曉芬, *Han mu de kaogu xue yanjiu* 漢墓的考古學研究 (Changsha: Yuelu shu she, 2003), 91.
56. According to Wu, two silk tents were placed in the tomb to enable the royal couple to receive offerings as a pair. Wu Hung, “Enlivening the Soul in Chinese Tombs,” *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 55/56 (2009): 21–41; Wu Hung, “The Prince of Jade Revisited: Material Symbolism of Jade as Observed in the Mancheng Tomb,” in *Chinese Jades (Colloquies on Art and Archaeology in Asia No. 18)*, ed. Rosemary E. Scott (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1997), 152.

57. Such coordination of floor and ceiling elements would continue in the East Asian architectural tradition and can be viewed today in sites such as the Palace of the Second Compound in the Nijo castle, Kyoto, Japan. See William H. Coaldrake, "Nijo Castle and the Psychology of Architectural Intimidation," in *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996), 138–162.

58. *Shiji*, 8.341.

59. *Shiji*, 8.343.

60. When a dragon appeared at Chengji 成紀, for example, the emperor declared this indicated that "no harm will come to the people; the year will be a plentiful one" (無害於民, 歲以有年). *Shiji*, 28.1381; *Hanshu*, 25.1212–1213.

61. For more on "as if" rituals in the context of funerary rituals, see Michael Puett, "Ritual and Ritual Obligations: Perspectives on Normativity from Classical China," *Journal of Value Inquiry* 49, no. 4 (2015): 543–550.

62. For an English-language overview of Mawangdui tomb 1, see Wu Hung, "Art in a Ritual Context: Rethinking Mawangdui," *Early China* 17, no. 1 (1992): 111–144. For the report, see Hunan sheng bowuguan, *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu*.

63. Hunan sheng bowuguan, *Changsha Mawangdui yihao Han mu*, 35.

64. Some might argue that Mawangdui tomb 1 featured a physical spirit seat whereas such a seat was not found in the Shiyuan tomb. The Shiyuan tomb was looted, however, so it is difficult to know whether or not such a seat was originally present. Also, both Wu Hung and Lucas Nickel have argued that physical seats were not always placed in the tomb. Sometimes the idea of the seat was signaled by an empty space before a table. Wu Hung, "Enlivening the Soul," 21–41; Nickel, "Some Han Dynasty Paintings," 73.

65. Guangzhou shi wenwu guanli weiyuan hui 廣州市文物管理委員會 et al., *Xi Han Nanyue wang mu* 西漢南越王墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1991), 27–28, color plates 1.1 and 1.2.

66. Liu Rui and Liu, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu*, 468, 473, 494, 495.

67. In Bao'anshan tomb 1, side room 1 contained a platform, where it is believed the coffin was originally placed, which was completely separate from the main chamber. Bao'anshan tomb 2 featured a front sacrificial space (with its own surrounding side rooms) as well as a full back chamber. Yan Genqi, *Mangdang shan Xi Han Liangwang mudi*, 15, fig. 17, 26–27, fig. 32.

68. For more information about *huangchang ticou* tombs, see Aurelia Campbell, "The Form and Function of Western Han Dynasty 'Ticou' Tombs," *Artibus Asiae* 70, no. 2 (2010): 227–258.

69. Zheng Yan, "Guanyu muzang bihua qiyuan wenti de sikao," 72.

70. The screen measured roughly 3 meters (9.8 feet) wide and 1.8 meters (5.9 feet) high. Guangzhou shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui et al., *Xi Han Nanyue wang mu*, 214–215, 433–451.

71. See Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所 and Hebei sheng wenwu guanli chu 河北省文物管理處, *Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao* 滿城漢墓發掘報告 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1980), 93–95. The original report indicates that the function of the bronze fittings is unclear. Mai Yinghao, Quan Hong, and Xian Jinxiang speculate that these parts may have once belonged to a screen. They also provide a useful list of all screens excavated in Warring States and Western Han tombs to date. Guangzhou shi wenwu guanli weiyuan hui et al., *Xi Han Nanyue wang mu*, 451.

72. Hunan sheng bowuguan 湖南省博物館 and Zhongguo kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國科學院考古研究所, “Changsha Mawangdui er, san hao Han mu fajue jianbao 長沙馬王堆二、三號漢墓發掘簡報,” *Wenwu* 文物, no. 7 (1974): 64; He Jiejun 何介鈞, *Changsha Mawangdui er, san hao Han mu* 長沙馬王堆二, 三號漢墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004), 109–116.

73. Olivia Milburn, “On Zhao Feiyan Waizhuan, China’s Earliest Erotic Fiction,” *Asia Major* 31.1 (2018): 104–106; Ge Hong 葛洪 (284–364 CE), *Xijing zaji quanyi* 西京雜記全譯, ed. Cheng Lin 成林 and Cheng Zhangcan 程章燦, *Zhongguo lidai mingzhu quanyi congshu* 中國歷代名著全譯叢書 (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe, 1993), 28–29. A shorter description of the hall can be found in the *Hanshu* (*Hanshu*, 97.3989). For the English translation, see Burton Watson, trans. *Courtier and Commoner in Ancient China: Selections from the History of the Former Han* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 266.

74. Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所, *Qindu Xianyang kaogu baogao* 秦都咸陽考古報告 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2003), 470, 535–566.

75. A total of thirty-nine mural fragments have been excavated from building 2. Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Qindu Xianyang kaogu baogao*, 446–449. Another 440 mural fragments were discovered at Qin palace site 1, a multilevel structure with a rammed-earth core. Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, *Qindu Xianyang kaogu baogao*, 353.

76. The murals were discovered in fragments on the floor of the southern room and in a staircase in auxiliary residence F2. The archaeologists excavating the site have proposed that the murals originally ornamented the ceiling but fell down when the house collapsed. Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan kaogu yanjiusuo Han Chang'an cheng gongzuodui 中國社會科學院考古研究所漢長安城工作隊, “Xi'an Shi Han Chang'an cheng Changle gong si hao jianzhu yizhi 西安市漢長安城長樂宮四號建築遺址,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 10 (2006): 38.

77. Zheng Yan, “Guanyu muzang bihua qiyuan wenti de sikao,” 71; Michael Nylan, “Toward an Archaeology of Writing: Text, Ritual, and Culture of Public Display in the Classical Period (475 BCE–220 CE),” in *Text and Ritual in Early China*, ed. Martin Kern (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 36; Jie Shi, *Modeling Peace: Royal Tombs and Political Wisdom in Early China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2020), 238.

78. Psarras, *Han Material Culture*, 50.

6. THE PURPLE TEXTILES OF QI: TRACING THE GROWTH OF A PROVINCIAL INDUSTRY

1. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, trans. Burton Watson, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 360; *Shiji*, 52.2012.
2. Translation adapted from Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty I*, 357; *Shiji*, 52.2008.
3. For a concise overview of the history of the state of Qi, see Michael Dillon, *Encyclopedia of Chinese History* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 542–543. For the archaeology of Qi, see Li Xueqin and Kwang-chih Chang, *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), 126–138.
4. For a history of the Jixia Academy, see Masayuki Sato, *The Confucian Quest for Order: The Origin and Formation of the Political Thought of Xunzi* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 77–84.

5. Translation adapted from Edward G. Slingerland, trans., *Confucius Analects: With Selections from Traditional Commentaries* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2003), 207; D. C. Lau 劉殿爵, Fong Ching Chen 陳方正, and Ho Che Wah 何志華, eds., *Lunyu zhuzi suoyin* 論語逐字索引 [A concordance to the Lunyu] (Xianggang: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1995), 17.18/49/23.
6. Slingerland, trans., *Confucius Analects*, 23; Lau, *Lunyu zhuzi suoyin*, 3.14/5/29.
7. For more on vermilion in the Zhou, see David W. Pankenier, “The Cosmo-Political Background of Heaven’s Mandate,” *Early China*, no. 20 (1995): 136–144.
8. D. C. Lau 劉殿爵 and Fong Ching Chen 陳方正, *Mengzi zhuzi suoyin* 孟子逐字索引 [A concordance to the Mengzi] (Xianggang: Shangwu yin shuguan, 1995), 14.37/78/19–20.
9. Ann-ping Chin, *The Authentic Confucius: A Life of Thought and Politics* (New York: Scribner, 2007), 151.
10. Mizuo Hiroshi, “The Color Purple,” *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 53 (1988): 48.
11. Mary M. Dusenbury, ed., *Color in Ancient and Medieval East Asia* (Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, 2015), 11.
12. Sun Xidan 孫希旦, ed., *Liji jijie* 禮記集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1989), 14.375. Translation adapted from James Legge, *Li Chi: Book of Rites: An Encyclopedia of Ancient Ceremonial Usages, Religious Creeds, and Social Institutions* (Charleston, S.C.: Forgotten Books, 2008), 1:238.
13. Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, 14.375.
14. Lau, *Lunyu zhuzi suoyin*, 10.6/23/25.
15. John Knoblock and Zhang Jue 張覺, trans., *Xunzi* 荀子 (Changsha: Hunan Renmin chubanshe, 1999), 2:578–579.
16. Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, 29.801.
17. Zhen Dexiu 真德秀 (1178–1235), comp., *Lunyu jibian* 論語集編, in *Sishu jibian* 四書集編, Qianlong yulan siku quanshu huiyao 乾隆御覽四庫全書薈要, 5.12.
18. Wu Shidao 吳師道 (1283–1344), ed., *Zhanguo ce jiaozhu* 戰國策校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1991), 9.407. For a similar passage, see *Shiji*, 69.2270.
19. Hubei sheng bowuguan 湖北省博物馆, *Zeng Hou Yi mu* 曾侯乙墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1989), 353–357. I read the word “zi” on the lid of the garment chest literally as “purple.” Colin Mackenzie has previously argued differently, stating, “Although *zi* sometimes possessed cosmological connotations it was also frequently used as an epithet of clothes of the nobility and emperor in ancient texts. The phrase may therefore signify no more than that the clothes were those of the Marquis.” Mackenzie does not supply examples of when the word “purple” was used as an epithet in early China. Colin Mackenzie, “Meaning and Style in the Art of Chu,” in *The Problem of Meaning in Early Chinese Ritual Bronzes*, ed. Roderick Whitfield, *Colloquies on Art & Archaeology in Asia* 15 (London: Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1993), 146, n. 22.
20. *Hanshu*, 28.1660. A similar passage appears in *Shiji*, 129.3255.
21. Adapted from W. K. Liao, trans., *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzū: A Classic of Chinese Political Science* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1939), 2:53–54.
22. Wang Xianshen 王先慎, ed., *Han Feizi jijie* 韓非子集解 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 11.282.
23. Translation adapted from Mu-chou Poo, “The Concept of Ghost in Ancient Chinese Religion,” in *Religion and Chinese Society*, ed. John Lagerwey (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2004), 1:180; Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 (1844–1896), *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1954), 7.654.

24. The *Liji* ascribes the popularity of purple to another duke of the same name: “The purple cap strings with the black cap began with Duke Huan of Lu (r. 712–694)” (玄冠紫綾，自魯桓公始也). Sun Xidan, *Liji jijie*, 29.797. Given that both dukes purportedly loved purple, one wonders whether this is a mistaken reference to Duke Huan of Qi.

25. For more on five-color theory and the growth of correlative cosmology, see John Henderson, *The Development and Decline of Chinese Cosmology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); A. C. Graham, *Yin-Yang and the Nature of Correlative Thinking* (Singapore: Institute of East Asian Philosophies, National University of Singapore, 1986).

26. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Qin Dynasty*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 43–44; *Shiji*, 6.237.

27. This post was also referred to as chancellor (*chengxiang*丞相) in the Qin and Han.

28. *Hanshu*, 19.724–726; Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 116.

29. The *Hanshu* notes that after Emperor Wu, this rank was referred to as *tonghou* 通侯 or *liehou* 列侯. *Hanshu*, 19.740.

30. According to the *Hanshu*, this applied to all officials in this salary range except the imperial household grandee (*Guanglu dafu* 光祿大夫), who did not carry an insignia. *Hanshu*, 19.743.

31. In this category, *Hanshu* notes that several officials—the *dafu* 大夫 (grandee), *boshi* 博士 (erudite), *yushi* 御史 (palace secretary), *yezhe* 謁者 (internuncio), and *langwu* 郎 (gentleman)—did not carry an insignia. *Hanshu*, 19.743.

32. *Hanshu*, 19.743.

33. Yuan Zhongyi 袁仲一, “Qin Shihuang ling bingmayong fuzhuang de yanse 秦始皇陵兵馬俑服裝的顏色,” in *The Polychromy of Antique Sculptures and the Terracotta Army of the First Chinese Emperor: Studies on Materials, Painting Techniques, and Conservation, International Conference in Xi'an, Shaanxi History Museum, March 22–28, 1999* (*Gudai diaosu caihui he Qin Shihuang bingmayong : cailiao, huihua jishu he baohu zhi yanjiu* 古代雕塑彩繪和秦始皇兵馬俑：材料，繪畫技術和保護之研究), ed. Wu Yongqi 吳永琪 (München: Bayerisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, 2001), 14.

34. Yuan Zhongyi, “Qin Shihuang ling bingmayong fuzhuang de yanse,” 13.

35. Unfortunately, the full range of colors applied to the Qin terracotta army will never be known, because much of the paint on the terracotta warriors was damaged early on. Some scholars have surmised that the damage occurred either when Xiang Yu 项羽 burned the pits or when water seeped into the pits as they were being finished. Regardless, the bright paint that has been preserved indicates that the warriors were not painted in a realistic manner. Qin soldiers, by and large, provided their own clothing when they performed military service. They would not have worn clothing in such bright, expensive colors to battle.

A wooden letter that dates to the year 223 BCE and was buried in tomb 4 at Shuihudi 睡虎地 in Yunmeng 雲夢 county, Hubei, makes this clear. This letter, sent home from two brothers on campaign in the Qin military, indicates that soldiers furnished their own clothing and generally selected the fabric based on cost:

Send me [i.e. Heifu 黑夫] cash, do not bring summer clothes. Now when this writing arrives, Mother look in Anlu 安陸 [an ancient city near Yunmeng 雲夢 in Hubei] for silk cloth that is cheap. If there is some that can be made into an

unlined skirt and shirt, be sure to make that and let it be brought together with the cash. If silk cloth is too expensive, only bring the cash. I will [then] make [the clothes] myself with [hemp] cloth. (Translation from Enno Giele, “Private Letter Manuscripts from Early Imperial China,” in *A History of Chinese Letters and Epistolary Culture*, ed. Antje Richter [Boston: Brill, 2015], 460.)

This account indicates that the average soldier could barely afford silk clothing, let alone dyed silk. For this reason, the dramatic colors featured on the terracotta warriors could not have been realistic. Cristina Thieme, “Paint Layers and Pigments on the Terracotta Army: A Comparison with Other Culture of Antiquity,” in *The Polychromy of Antique Sculptures and the Terracotta Army of the First Chinese Emperor*, 53.

36. According to Yuan, of the 277 figures for which paint could be identified on the upper garment, 42.6 percent were painted green. An even greater percentage (52.5 percent) of the 425 figures discovered with paint on their trousers were painted green. The heavy use of malachite, a copper carbonate ore, probably occurred because malachite was abundantly available in China; it had been used since ancient times in the smelting of copper and for inlay decoration on bronze vessels. Although azurite, which was used for blue in the First Emperor’s terracotta army, was also a mined copper carbonate ore, it was less abundant than malachite. Yuan Zhongyi, “Qin Shihuang ling bingmayong fuzhuang de yanse,” 14; Peter J. Golas, *Science and Civilisation in China: Volume 5, Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part 13, Mining* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 68, n. 30.
37. Yuan Zhongyi, “Qin Shihuang ling bingmayong fuzhuang de yanse,” 14.
38. *Hanshu*, 19.724–726. The grand tutor was the highest-ranking official in the empire; however, grand tutors were infrequently appointed. See Hans Bielenstein, *The Bureaucracy of Han Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 5.
39. The statement that emperors’ seals were imprinted on purple clay can be found in both the *Duduan* and the *Han jiuyi* 漢舊儀 [Old ritual observances of the Han], attributed to Wei Hong (fl. 25–57 CE). Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445 CE), *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1964), 1.33, n. 4; 30.3673, n. 1. For more information on the *Duduan*, see Enno Giele, *Imperial Decision-Making and Communication in Early China: A Study of Cai Yong’s Duduan* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006).
40. Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館, *Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan zuhan mokuroku. Fūdei hen* 東京国立博物館図版目録。封泥篇 (Tōkyō: Tōkyō kokuritsu hakubutsukan, 1998). Many thanks to Professor Takashi Sakikawa 崎川隆 of Jilin University for this information.
41. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II*, trans. Burton Watson, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 26; *Shiji*, 28.1386, 12.456.
42. *Shiji*, 28.1386, 12.456.
43. Sima Qian, *Records of the Grand Historian: Han Dynasty II*, 33–38; *Shiji*, 28.1392–1394, 12.464–469. See also *Hanshu*, 25.1225–1230; Li Ling, “An Archaeological Study of Taiyi (Grand One) Worship,” trans. Donald Harper, *Early Medieval China* 2 (1995): 1–39.
44. Translation adapted from John S. Major and Sarah Queen, *Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China*, by Liu An, King of Huainan (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 122. See also Stephen Little and Shawn Eichman, eds., *Taoism and the Arts of China* (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 2000), 244; He Ning 何寧, *Huainanzi jishi* 淮南子集釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1998), 200.

45. There are two schools of thought on what the “three” in *sanfuguan* indicates. Traditionally, “three” is thought to reference the three seasons. According to the Eastern Han commentator Liu Fei 劉斐, “In the state of Qi, there used to be a workshop of three garments. In the spring, it would present hats and hairbands as head garments. Fine, white silk would be made as winter clothing. Gauzy, floral-patterned silks would be made as summer clothing. Altogether, there were three” (齊國舊有三服之官。春獻冠幘縑為首服，紩素為冬服，輕綃為夏服，凡三). *Hanshu*, 9.285, n. 7.

Others have argued that “three” refers to three royal workshops in the kingdom of Qi. This argument was first made by the Song dynasty (960–1279) scholar, Wu Renjie 吳仁傑 (*jinshi* degree 1244), who contended that when Gong Yu (quoted later in this chapter) spoke of the number of workers in the *sanfuguan*, he used the word “each” (*ge* 各), indicating that more than one office was involved. This contention was then echoed by the Ming scholar Wang Wei 王禕 (1323–1374). Since the latter reading of the original *Hanshu* text seems more convincing, I have translated Qi’s *sanfuguan* as the “Three Garment Bureaus” of Qi. Wang Zijin 王子今, “Xi Han ‘Qi sanfu guan’ bianzheng 西漢‘齊三服官’辨正,” *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究, no. 3 (2005): 37.

The histories never state precisely when the imperial court established the court-run *sanfuguan* in Qi. Scholars have argued that Gong Yu’s speech implies that prior to Wudi’s reign, the Qi workshops were independent and the court received textiles from Qi as tribute. Zhuang Hequan has argued it is unlikely that the imperial court took over the Three Garment Bureaus prior to Emperor Wu’s reign. During the reign of Emperor Jing, the kings retained much of their sovereignty over local workshops, and even the state monopolies on salt and iron had not been established. Zhang Hequan 張鶴泉, “Shilun Xi Han Qi Lu diqu fangzhiye de fazhan tezheng 試論西漢齊魯地區紡織業的發展特徵,” *Dongbei shi daxue bao* 東北師大學報, no. 1 (1989): 44–45.

46. See the speech by Gong Yu in the *Hanshu*, quoted later in this chapter. *Hanshu*, 72.3070. A later, Eastern Han addition to the *Ji jiu pian* (急就篇), a primer for children, also indicates this, stating, “The state of Qi presented as tribute undyed silks and silks [depicting] flying dragons and phoenixes chasing each other” (齊國給獻素糟帛飛龍鳳星相追逐). Shi You 史遊 (active 48–33 BCE), *Ji jiu pian: si juan* 急就篇 : 四卷 (China: Maoshi ji guge 毛氏汲古閣, 1628–1644), 1.13; Zhang Hequan, “Shilun Xi Han Qi Lu diqu fangzhiye de fazhan tezheng,” 44.

47. *Shiji*, 52.2005. *Zichuan* can also be written 畵川.

48. Liu Huaguó 劉華國, “Shandong Qingzhou Xiangshan Han mu peizangkeng chutu dapi jingmei wenwu 山東青州香山漢墓陪葬坑出土大批精美文物,” *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中國文物報, September 13, 2006, 117; Guojia wenwu ju 國家文物局, “Shandong Qingzhou Xiangshan Han mu peizangkeng 山東青州香山漢墓陪葬坑,” in 2006 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian* 2006 中国重要考古发现 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2007), 117–122; Wu Hongyan 吳紅艷, “Xiangshan Han mu he Yangjiawan Han mu chutu caihui taoyong zhizuo gongyi yanjiu 香山漢墓和楊家灣漢墓出土彩繪陶俑製作工藝研究,” *Wenbo* 文博, no. 6 (2010): 82–85; Liu Rui 劉瑞 and Liu Tao 劉濤, *Xi Han zhuhou wang lingmu zhidu yanjiu* 西漢諸侯王陵墓制度研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2010), 260–261.

49. *Huangchang ticou* tombs are tombs with walls formed from stacks of high-grade wooden logs that have been squared and cut to similar sizes and stacked in the same

direction. For a study of such tombs, see Aurelia Campbell, "The Form and Function of Western Han Dynasty 'Ticou' Tombs," *Artibus Asiae* 70, no. 2 (2010): 227–258.

50. For the discovery of the garment, see "Shandong Dingtao Han mu dibu jingxian qiu keng chutu yubi he zhengui Handai sizhi changpao 山東定陶漢墓底部惊現器物坑出土玉璧和珍貴漢代絲質長袍" *Xinhua News* 新華新聞, September 14, 2012, http://news.xinhuanet.com/shuhua/2012-09/14/c_123714017.htm. For the preliminary report (which does not mention the purple garment), see Shandong wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 山東文物考古研究所, Heze shi wenwu guanli chu 菏澤市文物管理處, and Dingtao xian wen guanli chu 定陶縣文管理處, "Shandong Dingtao xian Lingsheng hu Han mu 山東定陶縣靈生湖漢墓," *Kaogu* 考古, no. 7 (2012): 60–67.
51. Zhang Hequan, "Shilun Xi Han Qi Lu diqu fangzhi ye de fazhan tezheng," 45.
52. *Hanshu*, 72.3071, n. 2.
53. *Hanshu*, 72.3070.
54. *Hanshu*, 72.3069–3070; Zhang Hequan, "Shilun Xi Han Qi Lu diqu fangzhi ye de fazhan tezheng," 44–45.
55. *Hanshu*, 9.285, 72.3073.
56. *Shiji*, 11.336–37.
57. Dusenbury, *Color in Ancient and Medieval East Asia*, 240.
58. Tang Shenwei 唐慎微, *Chongxiu zhenghe jingshi zhenglei beiyong bencao* 重修政和經史證類備用本草 (Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1957), 8.209.
59. Tang Shenwei, *Chongxiu zhenghe jingshi zhenglei beiyong bencao*, 8.209.
60. Francine Févre and Métailé Georges, *Dictionnaire Ricci des plantes de Chine: chinois, français, latin, anglais* (Paris: Association Ricci pour le Grand Dictionnaire Français de la Langue Chinoise, Éditions du Cerf, 2005), 779. Interestingly, Ricci defines *zicao* only as a medicinal plant and does not mention its use in dyeing cloth. A recently published atlas of herbs frequently used in Chinese medicine states that gromwell "is mainly grown in the provinces of Liaoning, Hunan, Hubei, and Xinjiang." Wu Jing-Nuan, *An Illustrated Chinese Materia Medica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 104.
61. Wang Xu 王抒, *Wang Xu yu fangzhi kaogu: jinian Wang Xu xiansheng shishi san zhounian* 王抒與紡織考古:紀念王抒先生逝世三週年, ed. Zhao Feng 趙豐 (Hong Kong: Yisha tang / fushi gongzuodui, 2001), 99.
62. Dominique Cardon, *Natural Dyes: Sources, Tradition, Technology and Science* (London: Archetype, 2007), 553.
63. As noted by Dominique Cardon, "Just as indigo is not present in "indigo plants," purple is not found in the living adult mollusc. It develops after the death of the animal by the enzymatic hydrolysis of colourless precursors of the colorants present in the hypobranchial gland of purple-giving molluscs, followed by coupling of two molecules in the presence of oxygen and (for most compounds) light." Cardon, *Natural Dyes*, 554.
64. Cardon, *Natural Dyes*, 557–559.
65. Wang Xu, *Wang Xu yu fangzhi kaogu*, 98. More recent studies by Takako Terada have indicated that the amount of dye that can be extracted from a dye-producing shellfish depends on the exact species of shellfish and the sea it inhabits. She found that the indigo content of secretions from *Thais clavigera* was greater in mollusks from Japan's Ariake Sea when compared to those of the East China Sea. She also found dramatic differences in the quantity of dye precursor contained in different species of mollusks. She found that the precursors extracted from one *Rapana*

venosa mollusk were sufficient to dye approximately one hundred square centimeters of fabric, whereas precursors from one *Thais clavigera* mollusk were sufficient to dye only about four square centimeters. Takako Terada, “Sea Snail Purple in Contemporary Japanese Embroidery,” in *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*, 2008, digitalcommons.unl.edu/taconf/138, 4, 6.

66. Takako Terada, “Sea Snail Purple in Contemporary Japanese Embroidery,” 5–6.
67. Wang Xu, *Wang Xu yu fangzhi kaogu*, 99.
68. Liang Qixiong 梁啟雄, *Xunzi jianshi* 荀子簡釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), 108.
69. For Qi’s annexing of Lai, see W. Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi: Political, Economic, and Philosophical Essays from Early China: A Study and Translation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985), 2:475; Stephen W. Durrant, Wai-yee Li, and David Schaberg, trans., *Zuo Tradition / Zuozhuan: Commentary on the “Spring and Autumn Annals”* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 2:927. Qi’s interest in Lai can be connected with states’ new desire to increase their population, territory, and resources after the decline of the Zhou royal house. As Paul Goldin’s research has shown, it was precisely at this time that local manuals appeared describing in great detail the environmental resources of various border areas. Paul Rakita Goldin, “Representations of Regional Diversity During the Eastern Zhou Dynasty,” in *Ideology of Power and Power of Ideology in Early China*, ed. Yuri Pines, Paul Rakita Goldin, and Martin Kern (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 31–48.
70. Terada, “Sea Snail Purple in Contemporary Japanese Embroidery,” 4.
71. Cardon, *Natural Dyes*, 553.
72. More than three thousand shells of two species of purple-producing mollusks, *Rapana thomasiana* and *Thais Clavigera*, were recently identified in Zhou-period ash and refuse pits found at the Beiqian 北阡 site in Jimo 即墨 county on the southern coast of the Jiaodong peninsula. These shells, however, belonged to mollusks that seem to have been used for food since they were found in pits that also contained a large quantity of clams and oysters. Wang Fen 王芬, Luan Fengshi 樂豐實, and Song Juebo 宋艷波, “Shandong Jimo shi Beiqian yizhi 2007 nian fajue jianbao 山東即墨市北阡遺址2007年發掘簡報,” *Kaogu* 考古, no. 11 (2011): 1–14.
73. Hubei sheng Jingzhou diqu bowuguan 湖北省荊州地區博物館, *Jiangling Mashan yihao Chu mu* 江陵馬山一號楚墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1985), 32.
74. From Mawangdui, Wang Xu identified a piece of thin gauze silk with a saturated purple ground and stamped, multicolor flowers printed and painted on its surface. It is one of the earliest pieces of fabric to combine printing and painting. The other piece is a less well preserved reddish-purple piece of embroidered silk excavated from the Western Han Dabaotai tombs, which belonged to the king of Yan 燕, Liu Jian 劉建 (r. 73–45 BCE), and his queen. It was originally embroidered with six colors of thread that have been mostly lost or have faded to a light chestnut color. Wang Xu, *Wang Xu yu fangzhi kaogu*, 62. For the Mawangdui piece, see Chen Jianming 陳建明, ed., *Mawangdui Han mu chenlie* 馬王堆漢墓陳列 (Changsha: Hunan Provincial Museum, 2003), 48. For Dabaotai, see Beijing shi Dabaotai Xi Han mu bowuguan 北京市大葆台西漢墓博物館, ed., *Dabaotai Han mu wenwu* 大葆台漢墓文物 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2015), 90.
75. For the Lingsheng Lake tomb, see Shandong wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, “Shandong Dingtao xian Lingsheng hu Han mu,” 60–67. For the garment, see “Shandong Dingtao Han mu dibu jingxian qiwu keng chutu yubi he zhengui Handai sizhi changpao.”

For Rizhao, see Guojia wenwu ju 國家文物局, “Shandong Rizhao Haiqu Han mu 山東日照海曲漢墓,” in 2002 *Zhongguo zhongyao kaogu faxian 2002* 中國重要考古發現 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2003), 75–80.

76. A majority of the individuals buried at cemeteries in the Yoshinogari settlement were buried in ceramic jars. Typically, the corpse was placed into a jar, which was then placed into a deep rectangular pit. The jar was then sealed with another burial jar, a ceramic vessel, or a stone or wooden lid. Mark Hudson and Gina Barnes, “Yoshinogari: A Yayoi Settlement in Northern Kyushu,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 46, no. 2 (1991): 224.
77. Shichida Tadaaki 七田忠昭, *Yoshinogari iseki* 吉野ヶ里遺跡, Nihon no iseki 2 (Tōkyō: Dōseisha, 2005), 104–107.
78. Daisuke Yamaguchi, “Purple Dyes in Prehistoric Japan,” in *Purpureae Vester II: Vestidos, textiles y tintes : Estudios sobre la producción de bienes de consumo en la Antigüedad*, ed. C. Alfaro Giner and L. Karali (València, Spain: University of València, 2008), 241.
79. Edward Sylvester Morse, *Shell Mounds of Omori* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1879), 1–36, plates I–XVIII; J. Wilfrid Jackson, *Shells as Evidence of the Migration of Early Culture* (London: Manchester University Press, 1917), 19; Cardon, *Natural Dyes*, 603.
80. Isao Iijima and Chūjirō Sasaki, *Okadaira Shell Mound at Hitachi: Appendix to Memoir Volume 1, Part 1* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo, 1882); Jackson, *Shells as Evidence of the Migration of Early Culture*, 20; Cardon, *Natural Dyes*, 603–604.
81. Joan R. Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997), 86.
82. Yamaguchi, “Purple Dyes in Prehistoric Japan,” 243.
83. Yamaguchi, “Purple Dyes in Prehistoric Japan,” 243.
84. Stuart H. Young, “‘Bald-Headed Destroyers of Living Things’: Buddhist Identity in the Silk Cultures of Medieval China,” *Asia Major*, 3d Ser. 30, no. 2 (2017): 27–70.
85. Kassia St. Clair, *The Secret Lives of Colour* (London: John Murray, 2016), 139; Elena Phipps, “Cochineal Red: The Art History of a Color,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 67, no. 3 (2010): 26. Such boom-bust cycles have been documented in the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) by Jonathan Schlesinger, *A World Trimmed with Fur: Wild Things, Pristine Places, and the Natural Fringes of Qing Rule* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2017).
86. This has been observed in other parts of the ancient world. See Ines Bogensperger, “Purple and Its Various Kinds in Documentary Papyri,” in *Textile Terminologies: From the Orient to the Mediterranean and Europe, 1000 BC to 1000 AD*, ed. Salvatore Gaspa, Cécile Michel, and Marie-Louise Nosch (Lincoln, Nebr.: Zea Books, 2017), 235–249.
87. A variety of means could be used to create purple. For example, the seventeenth-century work *Tiangong kaiwu* 天工開物 [*The creations of nature and man*] states that fabrics were dyed purple by using sappanwood as a base and then dyeing again with green vitriol (ferrous sulfate, FeSO₄). Song Yingxing, *T'ien-Kung kai-Wu: Chinese Technology in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. E-tu Zen Sun and Shiou-chuan Sun (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1966), 74. In other areas of the world, such as Syria and Egypt from the third to the seventh century CE, madder and indigo were used for purple. Joseph Needham and Gwei-Djen Lu, *Science and Civilization in China, Volume 5: Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part*

II: Spagyrical Discovery and Invention: Magisteries of Gold and Immortality (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 29. If, at a future date, Han purple textiles are tested and found not to have been dyed with shellfish dye, this should not be taken as conclusive evidence that shellfish dye was not being used. To the contrary, it can be assumed that a variety of purple dyes would have been used concurrently. The high status of garments dyed with shellfish purple would increase the prestige and popularity of all purple dyes.

88. Heinz Berke et al., “The Development of Ancient Synthetic Copper-Based Blue and Purple Pigments,” in *Conservation of Ancient Sites on the Silk Road: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Conservation of Grotto Sites, Mogao Grottoes, Dunhuang, People’s Republic of China, June 28–July 3, 2004*, ed. Neville Agnew (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2010), 225.
89. Heinz Berke et al., “The Development of Ancient Synthetic Copper-Based Blue and Purple Pigments,” 225.
90. Heinz Berke et al., “The Development of Ancient Synthetic Copper-Based Blue and Purple Pigments,” 225. Although Egyptian blue was produced earlier than Han purple, the technology is not believed to have been transmitted from Egypt to China. The formula for Han blue ($BaCuSi_4O_{10}$) differs from Egyptian blue in that barium is substituted for calcium ($CaCuSi_4O_{10}$). If the Chinese had adopted the Egyptian recipe, there is no reason why they would have substituted barium for calcium since limestone is cheaper and more abundant than barium, and the barium compound requires higher temperatures and the addition of lead salts as a flux for synthesis. As François Delamare has commented, “Why bother to replace a cheap lime with a certainly more expensive barite, and to heat the reactants up to 900°C–1100°C rather than 800°C–900°C to obtain seemingly identical products, with the same colour and the same chemical properties?” Delamare, *Blue Pigments*, 301.
91. Z. Liu et al., “Influence of Taoism on the Invention of the Purple Pigment Used on the Qin Terracotta Warriors,” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 34, no. 11 (2007): 1879; Rose Kerr and Nigel Wood, *Science and Civilisation in China: Volume 5, Chemistry and Chemical Technology, Part 12: Ceramic Technology* ed. Joseph Needham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 611.
92. Elisabeth West FitzHugh and Lynda A. Zycherman referred to the synthetic pigments of ancient China as “Han purple” and “Han blue” to distinguish them from “Chinese blue,” which already existed as a name for Prussian blue. Elisabeth West FitzHugh and Lynda A. Zycherman, “A Purple Barium Copper Silicate Pigment from Early China,” *Studies in Conservation* 37, no. 3 (1992): 152. For more information on Han purple and blue, see Heinz Berke and Hans G. Wiedemann, “The Chemistry and Fabrication of the Anthropogenic Pigments Chinese Blue and Purple in Ancient China,” *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine*, no. 17 (2000): 94–120; Heinz Berke, “Chemistry in Ancient Times: The Development of Blue and Purple Pigments,” *Angewandte Chemie International Edition* 41, no. 14 (2002): 2483–2487; Heinz Berke et al., “The Development of Ancient Synthetic Copper-Based Blue and Purple Pigments,” 225–233; Heinz Berke, “The Invention of Blue and Purple Pigments in Ancient Times,” *Chemical Society Reviews* 36, no. 1 (2007): 15–30.
93. For a full history of the rediscovery of Egyptian blue, see Delamare, *Blue Pigments*, 269–294.
94. In his quest to manufacture new blue and purple pigments, Henri-Louis Le Chatelier independently discovered “baryta blue” around 1900 and filed a patent. In 1950,

Peterson presented a thesis in chemistry that reconfirmed Le Chatelier's findings. Han blue was manufactured again in 1959 by Adolf Pabst, who was unaware of Le Chatelier's prior work. Delamare, *Blue Pigments*, 295–297; Adolf Pabst, "Structures of some tetragonal sheet silicates," *Acta Crystallographica* 12 (1959): 733–739.

95. Elisabeth West FitzHugh and Lynda A. Zycherman, "An Early Man-Made Blue Pigment from China: Barium Copper Silicate," *Studies in Conservation* 28 (1983): 15–23; FitzHugh and Zycherman, "A Purple Barium Copper Silicate Pigment from Early China," 295–303; Delamare, *Blue Pigments*, 297–298; Berke, "The Invention of Blue and Purple Pigments in Ancient Times," 28–29. Following FitzHugh and Zycherman, R. H. Brill, at the Corning Museum of Glass in New York, studied the composition of opalescent Warring States glass and determined that microscopic blue and purple crystals in the glass were the cause of the opalescence. He then resynthesized the silicates, confirming and complementing the work of FitzHugh and Zycherman. R. H. Brill, I. L. Barnes, and E. C. Joel, "Lead Isotope Studies of Early Chinese Glasses," in *Scientific Research in Early Chinese Glass*, Proceedings of the Archaeometry of Glass Sessions of the 1984 International Symposium on Glass, Beijing, 1984 (Corning, NY: Corning Museum of Glass, 1991), 65–83.
96. When the pigment is chilled to minus 459.67 degrees Fahrenheit, a temperature that scientists consider absolute zero, Han purple, because of its highly symmetric crystal structure, becomes a flat, 2-D, reduced-dimensional space. Scientists are currently investigating this change of state and the factors that influence it because they believe it may help them develop quantum computers, which theoretically use magnetism to perform many computations at once, increasing their processing speed relative to conventional computers. S. E. Sebastian et al., "Dimensional Reduction at a Quantum Critical Point," *Nature* 441, no. 7093 (2006): 617–620.
97. For Delamare's theory as to why Qin artisans used azurite instead of Han blue for blue pigment, see François Delamare, *Blue Pigments: 5000 Years of Art and Industry* (London: Archetype, 2013), 300.
98. Berke, "The Invention of Blue and Purple Pigments in Ancient Times," 24. Although current evidence indicates that Han blue was not used in paint until the Han, it has been discovered earlier in the glassy faience layers of beads from northwestern China dating to the eighth to sixth centuries BCE. Ma Qinglin et al. suggest that these pigments were "made either in a two-step process using the pre-prepared pigments Han blue and Han purple which were then subjected to the final sinter process, or that the pigments were generated directly during a one-stage fabrication process." Ma Qinglin et al., "Raman and SEM Studies of Man-Made Barium Copper Silicate Pigments in Ancient Chinese Artifacts," *Studies in Conservation* 51, no. 2 (2006): 94. Warring States "glass paste" vessels also have been found to contain Chinese blue. See Nigel Wood, *Chinese Glazes: Their Origins, Chemistry, and Recreation* (London: A & C Black, 1999), 189–190.
99. Zhang Zhiguo 張治國, Ma Qinglin 馬清林, and Heinz Berke, "Shandong Qingzhou Xi Han caihui taoyong zise yanliao yanjiu 山東青州西漢彩繪陶俑紫色顏料研究," *Wenwu* 文物, no. 9 (2010): 90–91.
100. Zhang, "Shandong Qingzhou Xi Han caihui taoyong zise yanliao tanjiu," 91–92.

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